MANU

A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL THEORY

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A HUMBLE OFFERING TO THE

MANUS

OF THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE

AND TO THEIR

CO-WORKERS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES

WHO ARE DEDICATED TO THE TASK OF

AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF MAN

AND

EVOLVING A BETTER HUMAN SOCIAL ORDER

PREFACE

Sociology, as understood and studied today, is an American science. It is the result of the labours of many stalwarts in the field,—Barnes, Bernard, Blackmar, Bogardus, Burgess, Case, Cooley, Jerome Davis, Ellwood, Faris, Giddings, Gillin, Hayes, Hertzler, Keller, Litchenberger, Lumley, Maciver, Miller, Odum, Ogburn, Park, Reuter, Ross, Small, Sorokin, Sumner, Thomas, Young, Ward, and others.

Four years' stay at two of the leading Universities of America, Yale and the State University of Iowa, enabled me to study the subject on its native soil. It was a great inspiration to work under the personal guidance of those who are building up this science, who are gathering material for its development, interpreting the processes of social life, and offering guidance to those whom Providence has placed at the helm of affairs of their nation.[1]

[1] I am referring to the Commission, composed of social scientists representing respective fields, appointed by ex-President Hoover, to report on the social changes in America. The findings are published in two volumes, issued by the McGraw-Hill Book Company of New York.

For, America has been presented with a sociological problem, as every nation is and has been in the past. In solving that problem, scientific investigation and unbiassed judgment of the scholar must come to the aid of the statesman. The social scientists of America are wide-awake, and are making the contribution to the problem that their country expects of them. It is in the light of the knowledge placed at her disposal by her leaders of thought that America is making new history and giving a lead to other nations to-day.

The nature of the problem confronting the sociologist is twofold: (*a*) the study of the processes of development of the highest type of personality and (*b*) evolving a progressive social order.[2] The range of study must, therefore, cover all phases of social life and thought.

The method of the sociologist is to break up the social reality into its component parts and to study the processes at work in each part. He must, for instance, study human nature and its development in a social milieu; the evolution and content of the social institutions,

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[2] Reuter, E.B., in an article in *Sociology and Social Research* University of Souther California, Los Angeles, 1928.

such as education, family, state, religion, that control the individual and the group behaviour; the processes of social mobility, both horizontal and vertical; the racial composition of a community; the population problems, both quantitative and qualitative; the mechanisms of social control; the formation of social attitudes; the technique of propaganda and the moulding of public opinion; the psychology of leadership and of collective behaviour; the community in its ecological setting. He must give attention to the cultural lags, the processes of individual and social disorganisation, revolution, and the presence of crime in a community. An important part of his study must be the effect of city-ward migration of the rural population on the life of the nation. Finally, he must face the problem of values, and answer the question whether there is such a process as social progress, consciously willed, or whether human life is drifting along like an uncontrolled boat on an uncharted sea.[3]

During my study in America, I was naturally led to enquire if India had made any contribu-

[3] Indian universities do not seem to be aware of this subject of enthralling interest. A few of them offer instruction in "Sociology" which, on close scrutiny, is found to be the antiquated anthropology of Herbert Spencer and Tyler.

tion in the realm of social thought. The present study is an endeavour to answer that question in some measure. The social theory of Manu, the father of social thinkers, is presented in terms familiar to the student of sociology.

I make no pretensions to originality in this respect. Mine has been the humble task of giving a simple, connected and consistent exposition of Manu's social theory in the scientific terminology of to-day. The spirit is ancient (and ever young) and oriental; the garb is modern and occidental. To the best of my knowledge, no effort has been made so far to interpret Manu in the manner herein attempted. Sociological concepts have just begun to assume definite outlines in the country of their origin. In fact, the science may be said to be of comparatively recent growth and is still in the process of making. I have felt encouraged somewhat by the interest evinced in Hindu social thought by American scholars. In reviewing a book on social theory by two Hindu teachers in the *American Journal of Sociology,* Professor Faris complained that the volume was only a pale reflection of western thought. He asked for an intimate introduction to Hindu social theory which only Hindu scholars were competent to undertake. The present effort is

inspired by the hope that it will to some extent satisfy that demand.

There was considerable temptation to make this study a comparative one, to put the fundamentals of American and Hindu social thought in juxtaposition in order disclose their points of resemblance and difference. But I have studiously avoided making such an excursion, and have confined myself to the exposition of Manu. Perhaps I might undertake such a comparative study should a second edition of this work be called for.

I herewith offer my sincere thanks to two friends who gave me the opportunity of foreign education and travel. To my two teachers and friends, Professor Ernest Wood and Dr. James H. Cousins, I owe a great debt of gratitude. Through them I came to know the real India and learnt to love Her. Dr. Cousins very kindly went through the proofs of the entire book.

I am glad to record here my thanks to my American teachers, Professor E. B. Reuter, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, and Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, sometime Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, all of the State University of Iowa. They helped me to

know and understand the real America and her contribution to social thought. I am specially indebted to Associate Professor Clyde W. Hart, also of Iowa, for his helpfulness and guidance in my graduate studies in sociology. I am much beholden to the officers in charge of the Day Missions Library, the Sterling Memorial Library, the American-Oriental Society Library, all at Yale, and also to the authorities of the State University of Iowa Library, who gave me special facilities for the study and loan of books.

To my wife, Mrs. Clara Motwani, A.M., I herewith offer my heart-felt gratitude. Amidst her assiduous duties as Principal of the Buddhist Women's College at Colombo, she found time to go through the entire manuscript, prepare the table of contents, the chart of correspondences, the glossary, and correct the proofs in part. Without her help and persistent encouragement this book would have never seen the light of the day.

KEWAL MOTWANI.

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GLOSSARY

Ananda	Bliss, the feeling aspect of the Cosmic Being.
Artha	Power, authority, action.
Ashrama	Place of rest, stage in the life of the individual; a social institution.
Atman	The individual self.
Aum	The sacred word "I am." The creative assertion, cosmic and individual.
Brahma	The Cosmic Being.
Brahman	A man of refinement and wisdom; a teacher, a priest or a philosopher-statesman.
Brahman varna	The first group in the social order.
Brahamchari	A student.
Brahamcharya ashrama and the educational	The first stage in individual's life.
Chit	Consciousness, the cognitive aspect of the Cosmic Being.
Dharma	Duty based psycho-physical development of the individual.
Dharma Shastra	A treatise on social relations.
Grihasta	Family.
Grihasta ashrama	The second stage in the individual's life.

Ichcha	Desire.
Jnan	Wisdom, intellect.
Kama	Pleasure arising out of attainment of the object of desire.
Karma	Law of action and reaction ; destiny, the result of the pastdeeds.
Kriya	Action.
Kshatriya	A warrior or a civil servant.
Kshatriya Varna	Third group in the social order.
Moksha	Liberation, development of the highest personality.
Man	The thinker.
Manas	Thinking faculty, mind, intelligence, reason.
Manava	A being endowed with mind.
Manu	A teacher who lays down the fundamental principles of associated life for human beings (manavas).
Mantra	A verse, charged with power.
Mulprakriti	The noumena of the phenomenal universe.
Nirguna	(Brahma). The uncreate Cosmic Being, without attributes.
Prakriti	The phenomenal universe.
Purusha	The individual self.
Suguna	(Brahma). Brahma with attributes, Braham in His dual aspect.
Sat	Being, the creative or active aspect of the Cosmic Being.

Sanyasa ashrama	Retirement into the forest, the fourth and the last stage in the individual's life.
Sudra	A non-Aryan, an unassimilated outsider, a manual worker, a psychologically undefined personality.
Sudra Varna	The fourth group in the social order.
Vaishya	Man of desire, merchant, banker, agriculturist.
Vaishya Varna	The second group in the social order.
Vanprasta	Partially retired individual, a hermit.
Va nprasta ashrama	The third stage in the individual's life.
Varna	Colour, racial uniform; the psycho-physical make-up of an individual.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE Hindus have been an intensely practical people. A cursory glance at their literature reveals the fact that their ancient thinkers and philosophers were not given to mere day dreaming and yearning for an easy escape into the oft-quoted but little understood nirvana. They were not lost in stellar solitudes. On the contrary, the magnificence of such daring glimpses into the cosmos as their meditations or scientific investigations revealed to them, convinced them beyond doubt that the complexity of earthly existence could be reduced to some order and the march of human progress subjected to some form of control.

They embraced in their researches such subjects as astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, ethics, logic, psychology, æsthetics,

politics, economics, sociology, and metaphysics.[1] Indeed, in sociology alone, they have left us over twenty treatises; and the Code of Manu, the subject of the present study, is only one of them.[2]

Manu, manas, manava, all have the same philological root, man, to think. Manu's Code, therefore, is a treatise of social relations for human beings.[3] (Manava-dharma-shastra).

It lays emphasis on reason, the thinking faculty (manas), in the ordering of man's social relations. It stands for a planned society. Manu's social theory is an art of life; it is a technique, not mere congeries of consistent concepts.

It is possible to study this Code from various

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[1] For references on these subjects, see standard works such as:
Seal, Sir B., *Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus.*
Sarkar, B. K., *Positive Backgrounds of Hindu Sociology.*
Ray, Sir P. C., *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vols. 1–2.
Mukhopadhaya, G. B., *History of Indian Medicine*, Vols. 1-2.
Surgical Instruments of the Ancient Hindus.
Kaviratna, A. C., *Charaka Samhita.*
Macdonell, A C., *India's Past*—a survey of her Literatures, Religions, Languages and Antiquities.
Keith, Sir A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

[2] See Bibliography.

[3] The literal meaning of the word Manava-dharma-shastra is: A treatise (shastra) of social relations (dharma) among beings endowed with power of reasoning (manas). The literal rendering into English as "The Code of Manu" is somewhat misleading

stand-points. A student of philosophy, for instance, may be interested in finding if Manu has adhered strictly to the Vedic thought and cosmology. A student of ethics may be interested in deriving the abstract ideas of virtue and justice that are elaborately dealt with in the Code. A student of history might endeavour to reconstruct the type of society that the Code may be assumed to represent. A student of ethnology might search for evidences of racial affinities between the Aryans and the ancient peoples of Asia and Europe.

The present study is an attempt to state the social theory in so far as it can be abstracted from the Code.

It goes briefly into the chronology of the Code, its author, and its codifier. The Vedic thought that forms the background of Manu's thought is presented. Subsequently it is shown that Manu's theory regarding different types of personalities, classifiable into four distinct groups (varnas), and of four social forces and four social institutions, is built on the basis of the Vedic conception of human nature. Next follows the discussion of the social theory (várna-ashrama-dharma) which constitutes the main body of the Code. Manu mentions four groups (varnas) and four stages of an indivi-

dual's life (ashramas). An ashrama deals with the individual in his physical and psychological stages of development, and varna deals with the group. An individual's life is divided into four parts—(1) studentship, (2) householding (3) partial retirement or hermitage, (4) and complete retirement. Correspondingly, there are four groups: (1) the manual worker, (2) the merchant, (3) the warrior, and (4) the teacher. A unity of function ties each stage of individual life to the corresponding group. This unity, which lays emphasis on harmonious relations, is the dharma, or the ethics of Manu. There are thus presented four social institutions: (1) the educational, (2) the family-economic, (3) the political, (4) and the religious. A final chapter devoted to an analysis of Manu's conception of social progress brings the study to a close.

It is impossible to give an English rendering for every Sanskrit word without doing violence to the original meaning. A few examples will illustrate the difficulty. The word brahman has reference to the function rather than to the individual. It stands for what we might call the element of wisdom in the social order, represented by teachers, professors, priests, preachers, and philosopher-statesmen. Similarly, the word

kshatriya stands not for the military class alone, but for all those who are engaged in the political life of the group; the word vaishya stands for all those who attend to the economic needs of life; and the word sudra, for the manual workers. Sanskrit is a highly conceptual language and the rendering of such words in English is an impossible task. But not more than a dozen or so Sanskrit words have been retained, and the reader will experience no difficulty in recalling their significance when reading them in reference to the context. The spellings of Sanskrit words adopted here are intended to facilitate pronunciation by those who are not acquainted with the Sanskrit.

The translation of the Code used here is that of Buhler, published in the Sacred Books of the East Series. All references are to Buhler's translation. The verses referred to are freely summarised, but every effort has been made to retain their original significance.

It will perhaps be found most profitable to read the third chapter, entitled "The Vedic Background of Manu's Thought" after Chapter IX. It contains a somewhat condensed and generalised outline of the Vedic thought to which a specialised student of Hindu philosophy is likely to take exception. But the writer has

not attempted to deal with this phase of the subject in critical detail. Such a task is beyond the scope of the present study. The brief outline presented here is designed merely to provide the necessary background for an understanding of Manu's social theory. This purpose is amply served by a general and simple statement.

CHAPTER II

THE CODE, ITS CHRONOLOGY AND AUTHORSHIP

THE Code, as we have it to-day, is a considerably abridged edition of the original Manava-dharma-shastra. Whatever the size of that original text, whoever may have been its author, and whatever the place of its origin, the work has gone through many redactions and additions. Upon this point, many Sanskrit scholars are agreed. For instance, Sir Monier Williams writes: "Probably the compilation we now possess is an irregular compendium of rules and maxims by different authors, which existed unwritten for a long period of time, and were handed down orally. An original collection is alluded to by commentators under the titles Vridha and Vrihat, which is said to have contained 1,00,000

couplets arranged under twenty-four heads in one thousand chapters; whereas the existing Code contains only 2685. Possibly abbreviated versions of all collections were made at successive periods, and additional matter inserted, the present text merely representing the latest compilation." [1]

The original Dharma-Shastra did not go through the process of redaction alone. The processes of addition and interpolation seem to have been equally at work. According to Buhler, the whole of the first and the last chapters must be considered as later additions. [2]

But there seems to be a general agreement that the original has been reduced from something much more voluminous to its present 2684 verses. It is also generally agreed that the codification was done by Bhrigu. To be sure, there have been many commentators, but their task has been more or less confined to elucidation and interpretation, not to codification. The conclusion that Bhrigu is the codifier is borne out by the fact that he is the only person other than Manu mentioned in the Code. Bhrigu is given the privilege of narrating the Code.

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[1] Monier-Williams, Sir Monier, *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 204. See also Weber, A., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 279.

[2] Buhler, G., *Laws of Manu*, cxvii and cxxiii.

Manu says: "Bhrigu will now recite to you these laws, for he learnt them from me. And Bhrigu, pleased at his teacher's command, began." [3]

Codification. When Bhrigu compiled the codification, it is hard to say. No two authors are agreed on this point. Sir William Jones maintains that the Code was drawn up in its present form about 1200 B. C.; Schlegel puts it not later than 1000 B. C.; Elphinstone assigns it to 900 B. C., while Sir Monier-Williams gives 500 B. C. Max Muller maintains that 400 A. D. is the correct date. To be sure, the whole chronology of Sanskrit literature is in question to-day as a result of the archæological investigations in the Indus and the Euphrates Valleys.[4] The point of interest in connection with this study is not the approximate date of the appearance of the Code in its present form, but its sequential relationship to the other documents of early Hindu thought, its period-location in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Sanskrit literature is generally divided into four periods: Vedic, Epic, Sutraic and Scholastic.

1. The Vedic period includes the settlement

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[3] I. 52-60 There are other references to Bhrigu in the Code. See III, 16; v. 1-3.

[4] See appendix.

of the Aryans in India and the general expansion and spread of their culture and civilisation. During this period, the four Vedas and the Puranas were developed and given a written form.

2. The Epic period is characterised by the Epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, and the Law Codes. The development of the religious systems of Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism, Vaishnavism, and the Bhagavad Gita also occurred during this period. The development of abstract thought which culminated in the Schools of Indian Philosophy, (the Darsanas) belongs to this time.

3. The Sutraic period is the age of the Six Systems of Philosophy.

4. The Scholastic period is that of the commentators, Sankara, Shridhara, Ramanuja and others. [5]

The order of these periods is almost universally accepted, although their duration, as was pointed out above, is in question. [6]

The present study is concerned not with determining the date-location of the periods but with placing the Code in its proper period-

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[5] Radhakrishnan, S. Sir, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1 pp. 56-59.

[6] The termination of the Vedic period is variously placed from 25000 B. C. to 500 B. C.

setting. The Code has been definitely placed in the Epic period, which means that it is later than the Vedas, the Puranas, and the Upanishads. These three provide the philosophical ancestry of the Code, and form the background against which it must be interpreted and understood.

Manu. Although this Code is known as the Code of Manu, it is not to be assumed that its authorship is attributed to one man by the name of Manu. It cannot be asserted with any certainty who Manu was or when he lived. Indeed, his historicity is shrouded in mystery. There is a mention of Manu in the Rig Veda which belongs to the first period of Sanskrit literature, whereas the Code belongs to the second, the Epic period. "In the Rig Veda he is often called the father Manu. He is the founder of the social and moral order, who first settled dharma. He is the progenitor of mankind. Though he may not be an individual law-giver, the Dharma-Shastra ascribed to him is held in great respect. 'A smriti opposed to Manu is not approved.'" [7]

In fact, there is a reference to four Manus in the Rig Veda. Max Muller, referring to

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[7] Radhakrishnan, Sir S. *Opus cit*, 515.

a hymn ascribed to Manu Vaivaswata in the Rig Veda remarks: "Nevertheless the hymn is simple and primitive in thought and language; and the fact of its being ascribed to Manu Vaivaswata shows that the Brāhmans themselves looked upon it as a relic of one of the earliest ages......No man of the name of Manu ever existed. Manu was never more than a name—one of those oldest names for man; and it was given in India, as elsewhere, to the supposed ancestor or ancestors of the human race. The brahmans, however, like most Aryan nations, changed the appellative into a proper noun. They believed in a real Manu, or in several real Manus, to whom they assigned various cognomina, such as Vaivaswata, Apasva, (Rv. ix. 7. 3) Samvarna (Rv. ix. 6. 5.). All of these they naturally counted as among the earliest of the human Rishis; and the hymns which they ascribed to them must have belonged in their eyes to the earliest and the most important class." [8]

In the Puranas, which also belong to the Vedic period, the conception of Manu indicates his function in the economy of the universe. He is a "teacher of the race", living with humanity

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[8] Muller, Max, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 274.

during each of the past cycles of evolution (manvantras). He is the "knower of the racial duties" (dharma), the trend of human evolution, and maintains unbroken the "chain of worlds, and kingdoms races." He declares the course of evolution suitable for each race and age; he is the archetypal man. As the Matsya Purana puts it: "The knowers and doers of duty (dharma) well instructed and distinguished beyond others, who remained behind at the end of the previous age (manvantra) and now stay on throughout the world cycle in order to maintain unbroken this chain of worlds, kingdoms and races, and to preserve the ancient order (dharma) from falling into decay and ruin, by constantly instructing the new souls in their duties—these are the Manus and the seven sages (rishis). Out of his memory of the past ages, our Manu declared the science of social relations (dharma) suited for the present cycle, and therefore is that science (dharma) known and remembered."[9]

The Bhagavad Gita, assigned to the same period as the Code of Manu, also mentions four Manus. "The great sages seven and the ancient

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[9] Matsya Purana, 145.

Manus four, of whom this world is the offspring, are pervaded by my power and born of my mind."[10]

From this plurality of persons bearing the name Manu, it would seem that the word indicates a title rather than an individual. In fact, its philological significance lends support to such a conclusion. Manu comes from the word man, to think, and Manu is the teacher.

The traditional Hindu attitude of reverence toward the teacher also supports the definition of the word Manu. A Hindu disciple, out of love for his teacher, invests him with divine qualities, and attributes to him everything that is good and great in his own utterances. (I. 1-3). Bhrigu, the codifier, reckons his teacher as next to Viraj, the Creator, and calls him the Father of the Universe. (I. 33-36). There are many similar references to Manu, scattered throughout the text, describing him as "omniscient", "king who gained sovereignty by his humility", "one with Brahma." etc. "Whatever Manu has ordained is in perfect accord with the Vedas, for Manu was omniscient."[11] "Some call him fire (Agni), others Manu, the lord of creation,

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[10] X. 6.

[11] II. 7.

others Indra, others the vital breath, and again others the eternal Brahman." [12]

The verse quoted last makes it clear that Manu is a title.

Medatithi is a comparatively modern commentator of Manu's Code. In the words of Buhler, Medatithi "shows a full acquaintance with the Shastra requisite for the successful explanation of his text, with Vedic literature, grammar, Mimansa, the Dharmasutras and other smritis, Vedanta, and the Mahabharata." [13] Medatithi, commenting on the first verse of the text, writes that Manu was a man, named Prajapati. "He was a particular individual, perfect in the study of many branches of the Veda in the knowledge of its meaning, and in the performance of its precepts, and known through the sacred tradition which has been handed down in regular succession." [14]

Thus Medatithi also supports the position that Manu was a title of a particular individual named Prajapati. His knew the fundamentals of social life (dharma) and taught them to mankind.

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12 XII. 123.

13 Buhler, G., *The Laws of Manu*, cxix.

14 Ibid. xiii-xiv.

All the foregoing argument points to the conclusion that Manu is a title. Mention of four Manus in the Vedas written in a period antecedent to the Code itself; of the four Manus in the Bhagavad Gita; of Manu as a teacher, Fire, Vital Breath, Indra, in the Code itself; of Manu as elder of the race, instructor in duties (dharma), one who knows the Vedas and possesses boundless knowledge extending over great time-cycles, in the Puranas; all of these go to show that the word Manu stands for an office rather than a definite personality. But which of the four Manus had anything to do with the origin of the Code under discussion must remain a mystery for future students to solve.[15]

The Social Situation. When the Aryans came into India at some remote period of antiquity, they encountered a large group of people who were native to the soil. These natives were slowly conquered and reduced to the status of manual workers (sudras).

With the passage of time, during which the process of settling down in the country was

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[15] All mention of Manu in the following pages, therefore, should be understood to imply the social theory embodied in the Code rather than a particular individual by the name of Manu. Manu must be distinctly understood to be a title.

being completed, the Aryans developed a system of thought which is embodied in the Vedas and the Upanishads. At the same time, the necessity of assimilating the non-Aryans into their body-politic, as the *sine qua non* of happy living, became quite evident to them. It is with the situation presented by these two factors that Manu deals.

This situation may thus be resolved into two factors—the ideological and the social. The ideological element is the Vedic thought, the philosophical and synthetical view of life presented in some detail in the following chapter. The social situation upon which this philosophy was brought to bear requires a brief explanation.

The Vedic period, as was pointed out above, preceded the Epic period to which Manu belonged. This period was one of pioneering and conflict with the native inhabitants, the Dasas or Dasyus (slaves) as they were called by the new-comers. The social organisation of this period does not seem to have gone beyond a rough differentiation into a class system, although the Vedic thought was in the process of being rounded out as a consistent system of philosophy. Professor Das gives a description of this Vedic period in the following words:

"The whole of Rig Vedic period was occupied by this deadly struggle. But it was not barren of results. It is when confronted with enormous difficulties that the human mind becomes more active and determined. Professions and occupations grew up. The successful leaders became Rajas and Rajanyas (kings); the warriors became Ksatras and Kstriyas; the priests who performed the Soma sacrifices with a view to strengthening Indra (god of rain) in his fight not only with the Dasas and Dasyus, but also with the Cosmic Forces that tortured the people by withholding timely rains, became a class by themselves, known as Brahmans, and the generality of people who preferred peaceful occupations to military life and activities became agriculturists, artisans and traders. Those of the Dasas and Dasyus who had been subdued and had adopted the Vedic faith and civilised life and manners, formed the higher classes of the Sudras. During this period, arts and industries flourished, healthy social customs were introduced, an elaborate form of worship was established, and higher philosophical speculations were indulged in by the sages or Rsis." [16]

[16] Das, C. A., *Rig Vedic Culture*, p. 177.

Manu, therefore, sought to solve this twofold problem, first, by embodying in the Code the fundamentals of the Vedic thought; second, by constructing in outline a type of society in which the prevailing social and racial conflicts might be reduced to a minimum and in which the individual might grow to the maximum of his capacities and, in turn, help to evolve a better type of social order.

As will be seen in the following chapters, Manu is motivated by the ideal of control. He is interested in laying down the principles (dharma) of individual conduct during the four stages (ashramas) of life: education, family, hermitage, and retirement. The second part of the problem is the inter-relationship of these various groups (varnas). The racial problem, that is, the amalgamation and assimilation of the non-Aryans into the Aryan group, is treated as a part of the larger social problem, which is, the devising of a type of social organisation for the Aryans. The end Manu has in view is to produce the highest type of personality and a well-accommodated and progressive social order. This he has sought to accomplish by means of his varna-ashrama-dharma.

CHAPTER III

THE VEDIC BACKGROUND OF MANU'S SOCIAL THEORY

THE Vedas preceded the period in which Manu's Code came into being. The people thought and lived in terms of the Vedas. Manu could not very well ignore this vast body of philosophical thought. The values posited by the Vedas are woven into all the social institutions of the Code—education, family, economics, politics, and religion. It is this incorporation of Vedic values that makes Manu's Code the most significant among all the Codes. As Brihaspati puts it: "Manu held the first rank among the legislators because he had expressed in his Code the whole sense of the Vedas; and that no Code was approved which contradicted Manu; that other shastras and treatises on grammar and logic retained their splendour so long as Manu who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue

and to final happiness, was not seen in competition with them".[1]

A study of Manu's social theory demands, therefore, some acquaintance with the fundamentals of the Vedic thought. A detailed and critical presentation of the Vedic thought is outside the limits of this study. An effort will, however, be made to present in broad outline the central thesis of this system as a background for the social theory of Manu.

According to the Vedas, man is a self, a soul, (atman), with many instruments for self expression and for contact with the world. The biological organism is only one such instrument. The self is, however, something different from the biological organism. "It lies behind speech, smell, sight, sound. It sees, unseen; hears, unheard; minds, unminded; unknown, knows. There is none other that sees but he. There is none that hears but he. There is none that minds but he. There is none that knows but he. He is thy self, the inner ruler, immortal".[2]

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[1] Quoted by Sir William Jones in his Introduction to *The Institutes of Manu*, XV, edited by Sir G. C. Haughton, 1825.

[2] Brihad. III. vii. 23. Science today gravitates towards the position maintained by the Vedic thinkers. Whether it be a physiologist watching the rhythmic beat of life in the physical organism; a biologist studying the myriad forms of organic evolution; an astronomer peeping into the stellar universes and

The first axiom of the Vedas, then, is that life and matter are different, though closely allied, categories. Therefore, side by side with organic evolution, there is mental evolution, the growth of lifė, the expansion of the powers of the self, the indwelling life. The story of evolution is incomplete if it means only the development of organic matter into more and more highly organised forms, and omits the

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watching the clockwise motion of the celestial bodies; a palalontologist studying the story of extinct organisms embedded in the unerring strata of earth'; a scientist for whom matter has lost its 'phantom walls'; a philosopher of detecting the delicate pulsations of life in the plant and watching it write its autobiography; a physicist studying the behaviour of the atoms and electrons; or a poet sensitive to the yearnings of the inner life, all agree to-day that Life is more than the mechanisms it uses. Man is not a body, but has a body.

Haldane, J.B.S., *The Mechanism of Life*; *The Philosophical Basis of Biology*.

Jennings, H.S., *Biological Basis of Human Behaviour*.

Thomson, J. A., "The New World of Science", *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLV, (1930) pp. 840-49.

Eddington, E.A., *Science and the Unseen World*.

Osborne, H.F., "Osborne Surveys Fifty Years of Science", *New York Times, Literary Supplement*, May, 1931, p. 11.

Lodge, Sir Oliver., *Phantom Walls*.

Bose, Sir J. C., *Plant Response*. *Response in the Living and the non-Living*.

Compton, A.H., "Life in the Atom", *Chicago Tribune*, Sunday Edition, May 30 (?), 1930.

Masefield, John, "Life".

development of the self. The evolution of material form is merely a moving stage for the play of the self in its evolution; it is the "play of Brahma" as the Vedas put it. Life is involved in form, in matter, but slowly organises that matter into finer and finer vehicles in an ever ascending series.

The questions naturally arise: What is this self and what is matter? The search for answers to these questions led Vedic thinkers into the problems of origins. Man is preceded in the scale of life by the animal, the animal by the plant, the plant by the mineral. The mineral is the most inert mass of matter. It shows the least evidence of life. But the Vedas maintain that there must be a stage where immaterial matter, if such a phrase is permissible, was impregnated with life. But this is still the place of separation, of dualism. Beyond this there must be oneness, the First Cause, the one source of life and matter.

Nirguna Brahma. This First Cause the Vedas call Nirguna Brahma. Nirguna Brahma means the One without any qualifications. It is the Unconditioned, the Unmanifest, the Universal, the one source of life and matter as they are seen here on earth. Brahma is the Reality behind this phenomenal universe. He is In-

finite, Eternal, without beginning, without end, beyond change. He can be described as the "One only, without a second".[3] "When no darkness was, then was no night or day, nor being nor non-being, but Brahma alone".[4] "In the imperishable, infinite Supreme Brahma knowledge and ignorance are hidden".[5]

Thus Brahma alone was before this phenomenal universe came into being. He alone is. He is never more or less at any time, and He never ceases to be. Out of His immeasurable fulness universes arise as waves out of the sea; and in Him, when He withdraws His sustaining life from them, universes are again absorbed.

Brahma, the First Cause, the origin of both mind and matter, cannot be described by a terminology that puts limitations on Him. He is the All, the Nothing, the Fulness and the Void, the absolute motion and the absolute rest, something in which all pairs of opposites are reconciled. The Vedic philosophers sink back in exhaustion from describing Him and end with "Not this, not this, (Neti, Neti)". There is only one syllable by which the concrete nature

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[3] Chandogya, VI. ii. I.

[4] Shetaketu, iv. 18.

[5] Katho, II. vi. 12.

of Brahma may be known and that is AUM.[6] "That which all the Vedas declare, which all efforts seek, That Word I will tell thee briefly: it is AUM. It represents Brahma, the Supreme".[7]

This one Brahma can be known by man because man is of His nature. Such supreme wisdom (para-vidya) is gained by purity of life. He who has not renounced evil ways, nor is self controlled, nor a man of concentrated mind, he cannot know the Eternal however much knowledge of books he may possess.[8]

Man is in microcosm what Brahma is in macrocosm, but it is possible for man to penetrate this veil of separation if he will only try.

Saguna Brahma and Mulprakriti. From this realm of the Universal, the Unmanifest One, is derived the Particular, the manifestation of the One into the many. This is the dual, the changing, the limited, the conditioned, the formal aspect of Brahma. As a self-conscious

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[6] Aum is the symbol of the Supreme Spirit, "the symbol of the Most High". (Manu II. 83). It stands for three qualities by means of which to know Him, creation, preservation, and destruction, (Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.)

[7] Mandokya 2.

[8] Mandokya, III. ii. 4.

individual would be a mere abstraction apart from some contact, Brahma requires something to reveal Him. He, therefore, becomes Brahma with attributes (Saguna Brahma) and moves into the noumenon of the undifferentiated cosmic matter, or the primordial substance which is the basis of every phenomenon (Mulprakriti).

This Brahma with attributes is threefold. He is existence, consciousness, and bliss (sat-chit-anada). Correspondingly, there are three aspects of cosmic matter, satwa, rajas, and tamas. There are no English words to convey the subtle meanings involved in these terms. Ernest Wood suggests as approximate equivalents three concepts of modern scientific thought. "Modern science recognises three properties in nature, or three essential constituents in the objects of the external world. One of these is materiality, or the ability to occupy space and resist the intrusion of another body into the same space. The second is natural energy, and the third natural law and order. There is no object to be found anywhere, be it large or small, which does not show something of all these three, as it occupies space, shows internal or external energy, and obeys at least some of Nature's

laws. These three qualities of Nature were also well known to the ancient Hindus under the names of satwa, rajas, and tamas". [9]

The planets and other heavenly bodies are visible manifestations of the Saguna Brahma and Mulprakriti. The appearance of these universal systems is described as the golden egg (the Hiranyagarbha), symbolic of their being fiery masses of matter in the beginning.

Purusha and Prakriti. Our planet, one of the elements of these systems, was originally a mass of mineral matter. This mineral itself is the first manifestation of life. Though apparently inorganic, Brahma's breath abides in it. With the passage of millions of years, the life in the mineral bursts its bonds and rises into a higher stage, the realm of the plant. This ascent is calculated by the Vedic thinkers in terms of geological and astronomical eras (manvantras). The ascent goes on from the plant into the animal, and thence into the human. [8a]

Thus, in and through organic evolution, there goes on the evolution of the life within. It is the life that presses on and moulds material forms to suit its purpose.

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[9] Wood, Ernest, *The Occult Training of the Hindus*, p. 59.

8A. Aitrya II. iii. 2.

Life on the physical plane is the result of the interaction of self (Purusha) and matter (Prakriti)—the reflections of the Saguna Brahma and Mulprakriti respectively. Just as the Cosmic being has three aspects, so the individual self, has also three aspects: activity, thought and desire (kriya, jnan and ichcha). In a human being, they are the three functions of consciousness.

The phenomenal universe, in its entire range from the mineral to the human realm, exists to bring the potential powers of the self into action. First comes desire. The world is full of desirable things. In going out after them the individual self becomes more highly conscious.

Then comes thought (jnan, whence *gnosis* in the English language). In its earlier manifestations, thought is dominated by desire; it is weak and is carried away by the momentum of attraction. Slowly it gains a foothold and desire is brought into subjection to it.

Finally comes action (kriya), the power to affect the external world. It stands for energy, ambition, restlessness, pushfulness. Desire impels the reaching out for the object, thought creates the picture of it in consciousness, and action is

the process of acquiring it. In order that the individual self may liberate all three energies fully and become one with the One there is this phenomenal universe.

It was the desire of Brahma that brought forth this creation, and that desire is reflected in all creation. Desire is the source of all thought and activity. "Man is verily desire-formed; as is his desire, so is his thought; as his thought is, so does he act; and as he acts, so he attains".[10]

But, side by side with the self, the indwelling life, the biological organism must be taken into consideration. The self needs an organism, a vehicle. The matter constituting this organism has the same three qualities as the universal essence—law, energy and materiality (satwa, rajas, and tamas).

These three aspects of consciousness, which have just been described, interacting with the three qualities of matter, constitute human behaviour. Their inter-relationships are expressed in the Bhagavad Gita in the following words: "These qualities of matter bind fast the indestructible dweller in the body. Of these, law pure, luminous and healthy, corresponds to

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[10] Brihadaranyka, IV. iv. 5.

thought (jnan). Energy, attachment or thirst for life and motion, corresponds to action (kriya). But materiality, inertness, the deluder of the self, represents sloth, indolence, heedlessness. It corresponds to desire (ichcha) ". [11]

The temperament of the individual is the result of the interaction of these six categories or elements. A man of harmonious temperament (satwic) is calm and collected, his efforts are steady and his thoughts balanced; the man of active temperament (rajasic) is restless, he runs instead of walking to get what he wants; the man of lethargic temperament (tamasic) must be lured into activity by desire; he is indifferent, slothful.

But it must be noted that while one characteristic of nature predominates, the other two are present though in abeyance. Were this not so, were it not that the two other qualities were latent in the biological organism, there would be no chance of controlling human behaviour. In the same biological organism it is possible to see the play of these three traits at different times.

These fundamentals of Vedic thought with regard to the three types of temperament are

[11] *Bhagavad Gita*, XIV. 5-8.

clearly stated in the twelfth chapter of the Code. Satwa, rajas, and tamas are the qualities of all matter. When one of them predominates in an organism, it makes the self eminently distinguished by that quality. Satwa corresponds to thought, rajas to action, and tamas to desire. Such is the nature of these qualities that pervade the universe. When a person experiences in himself a feeling of calm repose, a pure delight, he is in the satwic mood; when there is a mixed feeling of pain and pleasure, or dissatisfaction, then there is rajas; and when there is delusion and darkness, a when man is just an undiscernible mass of matter and life is hardly awake, he is tamasic.[12]

To summarise. The Vedas posit first One Brahma. Brahma is the unifying principle in all that exists. He is the One, then the two. He is the activating principle in the material universe. In the human, he is the conscious self with three aspects, desire, thought and activity, interacting with the biological organism which is characterised by three qualities, materiality, energy and law.

Reincarnation. This self which takes

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[12] Manu, XII. 24-29.

on human form is not to be thought of as existing only in the life-time of one physical body. It is eternal; it existed before it came to occupy this particular body, and after this body disintegrates, it continues to exist. In fact, it will take birth again in this material universe. It will reincarnate.

Though subject to the laws of the biological organism, the self is born over and over again, and marches onward toward its goal of self-fulfilment (moksha). As it is a reflection of the One Brahma, it cannot be denied the free-will and strength to carve out its own career. The self evolves through the series of recurring births and deaths. The Vedas thus do not think of man in terms of one or two lives. They conceive the destiny of man in terms of eternity. The self is born over and over again till it has fulfilled its divine mission, which is to be aware of its oneness with Brahma. Birth and death are like changing garments. As a goldsmith, having taken a piece of gold, makes another form, new and more beautiful, so the self, having cast off the body and having put away ignorance, makes new and more beautiful forms.[13] Having exhausted

[13] Brihadaranyaka, IV. iv. 4.

(assimilated) the effects of the causes he set in motion in previous lives, this one returns again from that world to this world of action. This is the story of man in the world.[14]

One natural life-time is too short a period for assimilation of the experiences of this world. In life after death, the self looks back and sees where it erred or where it gained. The biological organism is subject to laws of growth and decay; it cannot endure for ever. The self withdraws from it at what we call death. After having lived in that "land of effects", call it heaven or hell, it comes back again. When the assimilation of lessons is over, when the time of rebirth arrives, it is united with its new environment, it is reborn.[15] This process is repeated over and over again till the self has learnt the lessons that the world has to teach it.

Karma. The self is three-fold in nature. It expresses itself through desire, thought and action. It is through these that the self sets certain causes in motion and creates karma.

The laws under which man creates karma are also three in number and pertain to the three

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[14] Ibid. 6.

[15] Ibid. IV. xxx. 25.

aspects of consciousness. The first law is that desire makes opportunities. Desire attaches a man to the object desired, whether material or non-material, with unbreakable bonds, and whatever that object may be, he will be reborn to see its fulfilment.[16] So long as man desires, he is bound to the object. Understanding this law, he must watch his desires and fix them on Brahma, and sooner or later he will see their fulfilment.

The second law applies to thought, the second aspect of the human consciousness. Thought makes character. Mind is a creative thing, and man becomes what he thinks upon. One Upanishad says, "As a man thinks, so he becomes. Let him, therefore, think of Brahma". The momentum generated by thought carries a man along and sweeps away all obstacles. Meditation, which is an appeal to the subconscious mind, is concentrated thought. It is the most potent instrument in the formation of character. Brahma created the universe by His thought, "meditation"; man also creates his own universe by his own thought.[17] The character of man is thought-created. Man is

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16 Ibid. IV. xxx. 6.

17 Chhandogya. III. xiv. 1.

born with what he has thought upon, and his present conduct is an index of his previous thought. Morals are not what geography makes them. Man endowed with will makes his own morals. These morals are determined in terms of the Ultimate, the final goal of man. Man creates his future by his thoughts *now.* If he thinks nobly, he will be noble; if he thinks basely, no environment will make him different.

And the third law refers to man's actions. The circumstances a man is placed in are determined by his past actions. If he has spread happiness around, he will reap happiness; and if he has spread misery, he must be prepared to face it on his rebirth. Whatever kinds of actions a man performs, he must enjoy their fruit. Like fish going against the current of water, the actions of the past are flung back on the actor. The embodied self experiences happiness for its good actions, and misery for its evil ones. [18]

Man is creating karma all the time. He gets the objects that he has desired in the past; he has character and capacities that are gained with labour, and he is born in environ-

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[18] *Mahabharata*, Shanti Purava, coi. 23.

ments which he himself made. But karma should not paralyse his efforts for the ultimate goal of self-fulfilment. Karma is just a statement of a law. Within its realm man is free, and knowing the process of its operation, he can manipulate it for his own progress.[19]

The Two Paths of Life. During the course of various incarnations, man accumulates experiences. Each life-period lived in the world contributes to inner richness. Slowly but assuredly, man marches on, ever ascending, ever working, whether he knows it or not, toward realisation of his life's goal—unity with all the life around him and with the Universal Life. These are the ultimate values he has in view, and it is in terms of these that life has a meaning. This is the final goal, liberation, the moksha of Vedic thought.

This gives us two primary divisions of mankind—those who know and those who do not know, those who have had enough of experience, and others who must run the whole gamut. Those of the first type must work their way toward the goal they have seen;

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[19] This doctrine of karma is not an advice of "pessimism" or fatalism as some occidental students take it to be. To a Hindu it is an advice of optimism *par excellence.*

those of the second type must linger on, must experience fulfilment of their desires, thoughts and actions. These are said to be the world's everlasting paths. By the one a man goes and returns not; by the other he comes back.[20]

Manu accepts this idea of the two paths of life, the involutionary and the evolutionary processes (privriti and nivriti), and embodies it in his system of social thought. According to him, too, there are two kinds of actions, those that attach one to pleasures and prolong the series of earthly lives, and others that bring an end to them. Actions of the former type belong to the path of involution; and those of the second, performed without desire and accompanied by wisdom, belong to the second. One still treading the first path is equal to the gods if he performs his duties rightly. But one on the second path passes beyond the control of elements and is born no more. He who lives by the self (in the light of knowledge thus gained), recognises Him in all creation, sees all beings in Him as a part of His life, he becomes a spiritual aristocrat and self-luminous.[21]

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[20] Bhagavad Gita, VIII. 26.

[21] Manu, XII. 88-91.

The transition from a life of desires to one of control and renunciation is not so well defined. It is slow and spread over many lives. What needs to be emphasised here is that, according to the Vedas, every individual is treading this path of evolution to Brahma. The inner self is ever active, ever seeking to rend the veils that hide its latent divinity which is a reflection of the Divine. Man is ever in search of new modes of life and experience. His repeated births and deaths teach him lessons. They bring on weariness. This weariness from repeated experiences and births marks the transition to the path of return.

At this point everything seems transient, empty, sapless to the person. Disappointments and frustrations have strewn his earthly careers. Gaining riches, he has found them useless; toiling for success, he has gained a prison; and grasping power, he has thrown it aside as burdensome. Knowledge of books leaves him desolate and dry. He has studied much but the burden of knowledge has become wearisome, and endless and unknown vistas stretch beyond. He has now arrived at a point where his attention is turned inward. Tuition has done its work; now begins the era of intuition in him.

This divine discontent, the desire for realization of Brahma, goads him on without pause. His thirst for higher values cannot now be balked. He now knows that 'the real joy of life is not a life of joys alone'.

Now, instead of following the line of least resistance, which had been his characteristic when desire was in the ascendancy, he seeks a new path. He is now determined to turn homewards, and is ready to begin the journey. This is the way to self-fulfilment, the attainment of the highest personality.

Thus, we have two types of persons, those who are on the path of experience and others who are now ready to tread the path of return. They are metaphorically called the "once-born" and the "twice-born". The first includes the vast majority of mankind, while the second has just a few.

After outlining these two paths, the Vedas outline a type of personal discipline that will quicken a man's advance on this path of spiritual progress, of attainment of the highest personality. Progress on the animal plane just happens, but on the human plane it must be willed. One aspect of human consciousness is desire, but another is thought, intelligence. By means of this thought, man should be able

to redirect his efforts into a newer realm of being.

Yoga, the method of attainment of the highest personality. The method of quickening of this spiritual unfoldment or attainment of the highest personality is called Yoga. Yoga literally means union (yoke is the nearest rendering in English). By means of Yoga, the Vedas maintain, man can tread quickly the path of return, and once on this path, can, cut short the work that would otherwise take many lives to accomplish.[22]

Yoga may be defined as the psychology of self-determined progress. In its early stages of development, the self projected itself into the phenomenal universe through the senses. That was the path of involution, entering the realms of experience. On the path of return, the process of projection must be reversed, and the energies of the self directed inwards. Contacts of the senses must be stopped and thought

[22] It may be remarked here that Yoga was in process of development through the Vedic and the Epic periods, but was finally systematised in the third, the Sutra, period. The references to this line of thought in the next pages are to Patañjali's Yoga Sutras, since this treatise offers a coherent presentation of the subject. The English translation of Sanskrit words is taken from Professor Ernest Wood's book, *The Occult Training of the Hindus.*

controlled so that the self may get a chance to know itself. Yoga is the control of the whirlpools of the mind arising out of sense stimuli. [23]

Yoga is the voluntary control of the out-flowing energies of thought, desire and action. An average person is rushed along by his senses. Stimuli from outside give rise to a thousand mental pictures, and to these he adds some that are self-induced by imagination, or received from others. His mind is a seething cauldron of thoughts. He must learn to free himself from the domination of external stimuli. Only then will he be his true self and abide in himself. [24]

This whole process of self-control is divided into eight parts; two ethical, three physical, and three mental. (yama, niyama, asana, pranayama, pratharya, dharna, dhyana, and samadhi).[25] Translated into English these terms mean: (1) a set of rules for forbearance, (2) another for observance, (3) correct posture in meditation, (4) proper regulation of breath, (5) withdrawal from sense contacts, (6) concentration or focussing of thought on one subject,

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[23] Patanjali, I. 2.

[24] Ibid. 1. 3.

[25] Ibid. 2. 22.

(7) meditation, or continuous flow of thought on the subject selected for meditation, (8) contemplation, which is perfect cessation of thought and holding the mind in silent equipoise for spiritual illumination.

The rules of forbearance are five in number. Man must not injure, lie, steal, be incontinent, or be greedy (2.30). The rules of observance, also five in number, demand that man should be clean, content, self-controlled, studious, and devoted (2.32). All these taken together are the ten commandments for development of the highest personality. They are universal principles of ethical life, and are not qualified by class, time or utility. They are the great vows.[26]

When a man has built these virtues into his character, certain super-physical powers come to him. He develops an attractive personality, fearlessness, vigour of body and mind, understanding of life's events, clarity of thought, steadiness of attention, control of the senses. His speech become effective, and unsought wealth comes to him (2.35-45).

The second set of three rules is essentially physical. These deal with proper posture in

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[26] Ibid. 2. 31.

meditation, regular breathing, and the stoppage of sense-stimuli from attracting the attention. The position assumed in meditation should be steady and comfortable (2.46). Breathing should be regular and rythmic (2.49-51). And finally, the body should be relaxed, the eyes closed, and a definite effort made to check the mind from being affected by sense-attractions (2.54). Regular breathing will give a certain vitality and physical endurance. It will regulate the functioning of the glands (chakras, psychic centres), render the biological organism free from all poisons, and make it sensitive to the inner will of man.[27]

The last three rules of Yoga are psychological in nature. They are concentration, meditation, and contemplation. Concentration is the narrowing of the field of attention, the fixing of the mental eye upon a chosen subject. Meditation is the regular flow of thought with regard to the object of concentration. Contemplation is the dropping of the object of meditation and holding the mind quiet.[28]

When undergoing this discipline, a man must

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27 For a most scholarly and exhaustive treatment of this phase of Yoga, see Sir John Woodroffe's *Serpent Power* and also his *Shakti and Shakta*.

28 Patanjali, 3. 1—3.

maintain perfect purity of body. He should live on a pure diet. There are three types of foods. The foods that augment vitality, energy, health, cheerfulness, that are delicious, bland, substantial and agreeable, are of satwic type. Rajasic type foods are bitter, sour, saline, over-hot, pungent, dry, burning. They produce pain and sickness. Foods that are stale and flat, putrid and decayed, are of tamasic type. [29]

The man who is trying to control his out-flowing energies should live on foods of the first kind alone. Foods that keep the body light, the emotions calm, and the thoughts undisturbed, are the best for the man who is trying to tread the path of return and to attain the highest personality. All foods that produce animal energy, create nervous disturbances and hinder higher thinking, should be avoided. When spiritual life and moral activities are the true aims in life, the bodily demands have to be subordinated. The lower satisfactions smother the true joy that comes from self-control.

Moksha, the attainment of the highest personality. The purpose of this Yogic discipline is personal development, a quicker approach to

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[29] Bhagavad Gita, XVII. 7—10.

the end of the travail of births and deaths. Yoga is self-initiated, determined effort to marshal one's physical, emotional and mental energies. It develops a man step by step into a "maha-atma", a great soul, a powerful, dynamic, personality.

The illumination attained by such a personality is beyond human description. Moksha —or Nirvana, to use the word of the Buddhist tradition—is not annihilation, as some occidental philologists have mistaken it to be. A highly developed soul does not slip into nothingness. Such a rendering of liberation (moksha or nirvana) is highly misleading. When man has attained such spiritual grandeur with inordinate efforts spread over numerous lives, he does not become nothing. It is not the drop slipping into sea and losing its identity. It is the sea slipping into the drop. The physical world is best described as a world of matter in which there are only points of life, but the world of nirvana is a world of consciousness in which there are some points of matter.

Three Types of Personalities. As the process of this development of personality proceeds the man's inner life becomes more and more clearly defined. If one has been predominantly a man of desire, his desire

assumes the form of deep devotion to Brahma and his fellow-men. Such a type of person will be either a mystic, a poet, an artist. He is the devotee of the Beautiful, his path is Bhakti Yoga. •

The second type, a man of active nature, becomes a man of action and a leader of men. His path is disinterested service, the pursuit of the Good, Karma Yoga.

The third type is the thinker, the searching mind, ever alert to probe deep into the mysteries of life and nature. He may be a philosopher or a scientist. The problem for both is the search for reality. One seeks reality through the analysis of the phenomenal universe, and the other through the noumenal. The scientist is the philosopher of phenomena, and the philosopher is the scientist of noumena. The one is turned outwards, the other is turned inwards, but their search is the same. The method of development for this type of individual is knowledge, the pursuit of the True, Jnan Yoga.

Summary. This, in brief, is an outline of the Vedic thought. The Vedas begin with One Brahma, the Infinite, the Eternal, the one source of life and form—which is monism. From this, we come to Brahma's dual, limited,

qualified nature, (Saguna Brahma and Mul-prakriti, Purusha and Prakriti) the life and the organic matter known on this planet. Life has three aspects: desire, thought, and action. Similarly, matter has three qualities: materiality, energy, and law. All matter is impregnated with life. There is an increased manifestation of life as it ascends from the mineral, to the plant, to the animal, and to the human realms. On the human plane, life is tied to the wheel of constant births and deaths. These constant re-incarnations add richness to the inner and help to liberate is latent powers. But this process of liberation, the attainment of the highest type of personality, can be quickened by concentrated effort of yoga. Yoga is intended to help the individual to direct his own evolution with an effort of will. It is towards this liberation of the hidden potentialities that all creation moves. And finally, the Vedas mention three types of great leaders, the devotees of the Good, of the Beautiful and of the True, (the Karma, the Bhakti and the Jnan Yogis). To reach one of these levels is the summum bonum of life. It is the inborn aspiration and the goal of every human being.

Manu's social theory is intended to formulate a type of social organisation which will help the individual in his search for this liberation. In terms of this goal should Manu's social theory be understood and interpreted.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL THEORY OF MANU

IN the last chapter the fundamentals of the Vedic thought were presented. These were the two paths of life, the path of involution of life into matter and the path of evolution out of matter, the three aspects of human consciousness, the three traits of the biological organism, the three types of personality, and the doctrines of karma and reincarnation. Some attention was also given to the three lines of development (yogas), leading the individual to grow in accord with his inborn nature. Finally was indicated the goal of human life, or the values in terms of which the real development of the personality and progress of the group are to be understood. Manu accepts these fundamentals of Vedic thought, and using them as starting-points, he outlines a social order in which these can possibly be realised

by the individual, and social progress can thus be assured.

It will be recalled that the Code of Manu also aims at resolving a conflicting situation. As we have already seen, the Aryans found a large number of the natives who were of darker colour and belonged to a different racial stock. Partly by means of their higher culture and partly by means of physical conquest, the Aryans relegated these non-Aryans to the position of manual labourers. These latter became the Sudras or the Dasus of India.

The Aryans, with the philosophy they developed during the course of their settlement, slowly awakened to the need of assimilating this alien group into their body politic. But while they seem to have realised the desirability of transmitting their group culture to these non-Aryans, they did not wish to accelerate the process or lower their own cultural and ethical standards. There was great need for education and for the creation of community of feeling before this task of assimilation could be undertaken.

The problem that Manu was called upon to solve has been already indicated. Firstly, he had to accept the intellectual trends of the

times and embody the philosophical concepts of the Vedas into his social theory. Secondly, on the basis of these ideas, he had to provide a complex of social institutions that would produce the highest type of personality in accordance with the Vedic view of human nature, and that would assimilate this alien group into the Aryan fold.

This chapter is intended to show the evidences of Vedic thought in the Code of Manu and to point out the foundations of the social institutions conceived by him. It is on these bases that he raised a superstructure of social organisation to control the two processes he has in view.

As we have seen already, Manu "expressed the whole sense of the Vedas in his Code". According to Manu, the eternal lore of the Vedas upholds all creation. It is supreme, and it alone is the means of securing happiness. Command of armies, royal authority, the office of a judge, sovereignty over the people, he alone deserves who knows the Vedas. As fire burns even green trees, so do the Vedas burn away the dross from human hearts. Whatever social status a man may have, he becomes one with Brahma if he knows the Vedas. A forgetful student of the Vedas is better than an

ignorant man; one who remembers the Vedas is better than the forgetful one; and one who understands the Vedas is better than the one who only remembers them. But best of all is he who lives the teachings of the Vedas in his daily life.[1]

Brahma is the one source of all life. Brahma is the beginning and also the end. He who meditates on Brahma and recognises Him in all creatures and all creatures in Him, does not give his heart to unrighteousness. He alone is in the multitude of things. The universes rest in Him, the embodied selves derive their meaning from Him.[2]

Man should know Him, the sovereign ruler of all, smaller than the small, brighter than gold, knowable by higher reason in meditation. Some call Him Fire, others Manu, the Lord of creatures, others call him Indra, Prana, and again others the eternal Brahma. He pervades all creation—in the five realms of the mineral, the plant, the animal, the human and the super-human, and makes them revolve like wheels by means of births, growth and decay.[3] Therefore he who recognises this Self

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1 XII. Manu, 99-103.
2 XII. Ibid. 118-119.
3 XII. Ibid, 122-24.

through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal-minded toward all, enters the highest state, and knows Brahma.[4]

Manu's acceptance of Vedic cosmology (I. 5-7), of cycles of evolution (manvantras, I. 61-80), of the organic aspects of evolution (I. 34-49), are not of special interest to us and need not detain us here. Narrowing down his field of investigation, he comes to the broad outlines of Vedic thought with regard to the two paths, or rather the two arcs of a circle that represent the general outlines of man's evolution. He accepts the view that life is distinct from the mechanism, that it passes through various stages of organic evolution, and is ever ascending. At the human level we are in the grip of births and deaths, and all action either ties us to this wheel or helps us to bring the day of final release nearer. Manu accepts also the Vedic conception of two kinds of actions, those of in-volution in matter and those of e-volution, those that prolong this mundane existence and those that ensure release from it. Actions of the first type are born of desire, and of the second type are untinged by desire. The former per-

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[4] Ibid. XII. 125.

petuate birth and death, the latter bring release.[5]

The purpose of life is to attain the highest values, to tread the path of return, to develop the highest personality, to be a helper of humanity, to kill out self-interest. This is the fulfilling of one's self, this is spiritual aristocracy. Performing actions as an offering to Brahma, recognising Him in all beings and all beings in Him, man becomes enlightened.[6]

The Psychological Basis of Differentiation. Coming to the consideration of man, Manu accepts the distinction between life and form. He accepts this dualism for purposes of study and analysis, though he affirms, as do the Vedas, the unity of the two. He maintains that the biological organism is subject to the qualities of matter, and that these strongly colour the expression of the self.[7]

The three characteristics or modes of expression of the self are desire, thought, and activity.[8] On the basis of interaction between the three traits of the biological organism and the three aspects of human consciousness we have perso-

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5 Ibid. XII. 88-90.

6 Ibid. XII. 91.

7 Ibid. XII. 24-25.

8 Ibid. XII. 26.

nalities, easily classifiable into three types (varnas).[9] To be sure, every individual experiences at different times all three states of being, but there is one predominant characteristic by means of which we recognise him. When a person experiences in himself a feeling of calm repose, a pure delight, he is in a satvic mood; when there is a mixed feeling of pain and pleasure, or dissatisfaction, then there is rajas; and when there is delusion and darkness, and man is just an inert mass of matter, tamas predominates.[10]

The man of the first type will be quiet in his ways and given to intellectual pursuits. He is a thinker, (brahman), the professor, the priest, and the philosopher-statesman. The man of the second type is active, he is always on the move. He is the ruler, (kshatriya) the warrior, the civil servant. The man of the third type is impelled by desire. He is a man of possessive impulses (vaishya), a financier, a

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9 Varna literally means colour, but this word is used here in two senses. The first significance of the word is psychological. It is the totality of the make-up of the individual, his vibratory note as it were, that singles him out as a man of gentle, active, or lethargic type. The second significance of the word is ethnical. This will be taken up in its proper place in the following pages.

10 XII 27 29.

merchant. These are the distinguishing marks of these personalities. Study of the Vedas, knowledge, discipline, purity, control of senses, service of fellowmen and meditation are the marks of the thinker. Delight in undertakings, delight in sense enjoyment, absence of stability, are the marks of the doer. Desire, sleepiness, pusillanimity, inattentiveness are the marks of the man of desire.[11]

It is in these psychological differences, arising out of the threefold nature of human consciousness and the biological organism, that we have three types of personality to deal with in a social order. The Lord created these three types, and also a fourth one, the sudra, from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively.[12]

Four groups (Varnas). Manu mentions here four types of personality, the fourth being the sudra. These four types give us the natural division of society into four groups, the brahmans, the kshatriyas, the vaishyas, and the sudras. The brahman is a man of intellect. He is created from the mouth of Brahma, therefore he studies and teaches the Vedas.

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11 Ibid. XII. 31-33

12 Ibid. 1. 31.

The kshatriya comes from His arms. He serves the state and weilds the sceptre of authority in defence of the group from external danger and internal disorder. The vaishya is a man of desire, he comes from the thighs of the Lord. He is a pillar of the nation. He keeps the whole group going by attending to its material needs.

The fourth group is that of the sudra. The sudra comes from the feet of the Lord. Psychologically, he is still an undefined type of personality. It is difficult to know the predominant note of his life. His desires, actions, and thoughts are not clearly defined; he has not come to that point in his psychological career where he knows what he is and wants. In other words, he is still "once-born", he is still in the child stage, whatever his age may be. The first three types of personality are "twice-born", the outlines of their aptitudes and activities are clearly defined, they are psychologically differentiated. The sudra's progress lies in patiently abiding his time, and taking such part in group life as will enable him to be "twice-born". Till then, he must co-operate with the other groups by calm obedience and patient service.

But, as already mentioned, the word sudra,

has an ethnical reference also. The sudras had to be assimilated into the Aryan culture. However advanced and refined they may have been, their colour was dark, they wore a "racial uniform" to use the phrase of Professor Park. Their culture was different from that of the Aryans. They had to be subjected to the slow process of assimilation, and they were to begin as manual labourers, slowly absorbing what the Aryans had to offer. Culturally, therefore, the sudra was in the same position as the Aryan child, ignorant of Aryan thought and life. Every child is born a sudra, and remains such till he receives the sacrament of the Vedas and is born a second time thereby.[13]

Thus the child and the sudra are identical. They are both unacquainted with the Aryan culture. The process of assimilating both is almost identical, with the difference that the Aryan child is given "the sacrament of the Vedas," while the sudra is consigned to physical work till he proves his worth and is ready to receive the "second birth."

These, then, are the psychological foundations of Manu's group life. His social

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[13] Ibid. II. 172.

differentiation is based on psychic differentiation. As he says, any people, when they come together must resolve themselves into these four groups to attend to the functions that will ensure continuity of associated life. In Manu's view, there can be only these four types of groups, and no more.[14]

Functions of different groups. Manu further outlines for these groups the functions or occupations that are in conformity with their psychic nature.

Those who sprang from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Brahma should have different functions. Teaching and studying the Vedas, worshipping and guiding others in offering sacrifices, giving and receiving alms, are the duties assigned to the brahman. The protection of the people, gifts, sacrifices, study of the Vedas, non-attachment to objects of the senses, these are prescribed for the kshatriya. The vaishya must tend cattle, give in charity, discharge the sacred duties of the home life, study the Vedas, carry on commerce, banking, and agriculture. The Lord prescribed one occupation for the sudra—to serve faithfully the above three groups.[15]

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[14] Ibid. X. 4.

[15] I. 87—91.

The Concept of Social Forces. (Dharma), In order to understand the social process by means of which Manu has sought to accomplish his two-fold purpose, we shall have to go a little deeper and study the concept of the social forces (dharma), those atomic elements in the individual by means of which he carries on interaction with the group and the environment, and becomes a person. It is the interplay of these hidden and yet discernible elements in human beings which draws them into associated life.

This concept of dharma is the central thesis in Manu's social theory. His treatise is "Dharma-Shastra", an exposition of social processes, social forces, social control, social institutions, social values, and social progress.

Dharma is rather an abstract and elusive term like the three qualities of matter. The word dharma is translated in many ways, but its general meaning is given to be duty in an ethical sense. We are concerned here not with its ethical but its sociological significance.

Dharma is something inherent in the individual. In fact, we know a man by his dharma, we know any object by its dharma. For instance, the dharma of fire is to burn, of

the sun to shine and give heat, of water to put out fire, and so on. Similarly, every man has his own dharma, the irresistible the dominant note of his being which distinguishes him from the rest of his fellow-men.

The three social forces, collectively described by one word, dharma, are pleasure, power, and knowledge, (kama, artha, dharma). These social forces correspond in the individual with the three aspects of his consciousness, desire, action, and thought, and in the social life with tho three groups, the merchant, the warrior, and the teacher. We see the play of these three social forces in each individual; he is their focal point.

Let us see what these three social forces stand for. The first is pleasure (kama). It is the social manifestation of desire. It means enjoyment, possession. It is also allied with sex. All these are manifestations of one basic impulse, desire. Desire is the reflection of the bliss (ananda) of Brahma in man. Any social order must reckon with this all-absorbing impulse in man. The science of this subject is known as Psychology (Kama Shastra).

The second social force is power (artha). It stands for action and authority. It is in the nature of life to move, to act. It represents the

active side of human nature. It corresponds with the political life of the group, its science being Politics (Artha Shastra).

And finally, we have dharma, the intellectual perception of one's place in the social cosmos. Dharma emphasises the totality of one's response to external environment according to one's psycho-physical development. The science of dharma is the Dharma Shastra of Manu.

This is a rough outline of the social forces. Under each heading may fall many subsidiary forces or interests, as, for example, desire for health, wealth, sex, property, progeny. But they all augment pleasure. Similarly, action may assume many forms. It may manifest itself in the protection and service of the family, of the group, or of the nation. It may be defence against inanimate or animate nature, but it is all action. Action is the volatile tendency in man. Similarly with thought. Intellectual pursuits may assume many forms. Philosophy and science fall within its realm.

These three social forces bring a man into vital contact with the group. That alone is a co-ordinated personality that has had a legitimate satisfaction of all these three. Some thinkers might advise pursuit of knowledge and action as the ultimate good; others

might recommend action and pleasure; others action alone, and some pleasure alone. But the essence of the truth is that the three together make up the fullness of life.[16]

An appropriate expression of these fundamental impulses in man must eliminate all conflict and repression. The sense of completeness coming from living a full life liberates energies in the individual for spiritual aspiration. On the path of involution satisfaction of these three social forces must be secured by the individual. There is no escape from this fact. Denial of any of these creates restlessness in the individual, and conflict in the group. The individual cannot aspire when his inborn impulse have been thwarted. It is from fullness of life that the desire springs for the higher work of the path of return.

But there is a fourth social force, the Great Desire for final realization of the One Life at the back of all these small desires (moksha). It is the desire to be free, to rise in the scale of evolution, to be a superman. That is the final goal. Spiritual synthetic vision is the crowning glory of human life. (XII. 125).

The Social Institutions. (Ashramas).—In consonance with his view of human nature

16 II. 224.

the four main social forces, Manu has four social institutions (ashramas). The first three are devoted to the maintenance of group life and the last exclusively to the attainment of spiritual progress. Social institutions are crystallised social forces. Each institution gives opportunity for expression of one or more fundamental human impulses. Manu uses the word ashrama for institution. Ashrama literally means a place of rest. An institution, accordingly, should be a place of rest. There should be no conflict between the individual and the institution. It should help him to fulfil the purpose for which he enters into it. The four social institutions are education, family, state and religion (brahmacharya, grahastha, vanprastha and sanyasa).

Every individual should go through these four institutions so that the purpose of his life may be fulfilled. At each stage he should receive what is his due. Each stage is a preparation for the next.

Having studied the four Vedas, two Vedas, or even one Veda, in due order, without having violated his celibacy, the student should enter the household order.[17] And when the householder sees wrinkles on his face, whiteness

[17] II. 2.

in his hair, when he sees grandsons, he should retire.[18] Having passed the three portions of his life in the world, he should abandon all attachment and enter the forest for meditation.[19]

Manu gives us a detailed account of each of these four institutions or stages of life. He follows the individual through each stage and shows us how, by means of certain social controls exercised by each institution, the highest type of personality and a progressive social order are developed.

The first is the educational institution. It takes up the first quarter of the individual's life. The candidate for education is in a pliable stage. He is psychologically still undefined, he is not a member of the Aryan group; he is on a level with the non-Aryan so far as his assimilation into the Aryan culture is concerned. It is here that the process of assimilation must begin both for the child and the non-Aryan. By means of education alone can the group transmit its heritage to him and through him to the next generation. Hence *intellect* is the dominant note of this stage. The group corresponding to this stage, as hinted above, is the non-Aryan. The

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18 VI. 2.

19 VI. 33.

similarity of these two types of individuals lies in the process of their assimilation.

After education is over, the individual enters the second stage of his life, that of the household. *Desire* or pleasure is the basis of this institution. He now becomes a full-fledged member of the group. Desire for sex, desire for progeny, desire for property receive attention during this part of his life, but always with the vision of the future before him. What he has learnt as a student he must live in the every day activity of his life. The group corresponding to this institution is the merchant (vaishya), the supporter of the family and other institutions.

At the third stage the individual must retire partially and begin his career as a hermit (vanaprast). The emphasis at this point is on *activity*. He may retire into the forest or live with his family. In either case, his attachment must cease, and his mind must now gravitate toward selfless service. His life should be one of dignified, quiet and partial seclusion, given to meditation, which is inner activity. Or he may be active in the outside world, guiding and advising the young, a trusted and loved friend of all, with the welfare of the group at heart. Wisest of counsellors, rich in life's experience, he may live in the world of

daily life and guide it by free and unbiased advice. The group corresponding to this stage is the warrior and the statesman. Manu deals with the qualifications of a member of this group in great detail. He must be, like the hermit described above, a man pressed to take part in the turmoil of the nation's political affairs, but one whose real inclinations tend towards meditation and retirement. It is this type of warrior (kshatriya) who can guide the nation in times of peace and war.

During the last quarter of his life, a man must devote himself entirely to spiritual pursuits, and prepare for his return into the Beyond. Salvation or atonement has to be worked for, it does not come of its own accord. This great desire for liberation underlies all human activity. Man must provide for it in the regular regime of his life. Leaving all connections behind, the individual must enter into complete seclusion where he and his God are alone together. Here begins the life to which the previous three periods have been but a prelude. It is time for the quest of the Infinite, the Brahma. He has lived his life and made his contribution to the welfare of the group during his youth and semi-retirement. Now he must give up all. His spiritual attainment is of greater

value to the group than his material contribution. His purity of life and devotion to God become the beacon lights of those who are still involved in the meshes of the material universe. He should now become a freeman, a resurrected soul, not a slave to institutional life but a guide to those that live in it. He is an example and a promise of the future to all. The group corresponding to this stage is that of the brahman. The brahman teaches the science of the self to the students. The retired man is entitled to the same status because he is in search of the self, and has lived a life of service. The brahman must be like the forest dweller, a man of no possessions, his only store being *wisdom.*[20]

The Plan of Study.—The following four chapters will describe these four stages of the individual's life, the four social institutions, and their respective inter-relationships (the varna-ashrama-dharma). Manu does not describe only one stage of the individual's life or one group. His varna-ashrama embraces all the four in their individual as well as their collective aspects; and to separate dharma, the concept

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[20] The reader is requested to turn to the charter given in the beginning of the book to study the correspondences presented in the preceding pages.

of social forces, from them, is to take away the psychological and ethical foundations in terms of which alone the two concepts, the individual and the group, can be understood. Dharma cannot be translated as a bundle of taboos imposed on the individual by the group in which he is born. It is not mere folkways and mores; it is the inborn nature of the individual, the stage of his psycho-physical evolution, and it points to the only means of his salvation. It is his duty to himself, and to the group, arising out of the intellectual perception of his place in the scale of life. Dharma is the psychological note of his being. To live in accord with this note of one's self is the swiftest path of progress.

Each of the following four chapters will be divided into two parts, one dealing with the stage of the individual as a member of an institution and the other with the group corresponding to that stage. The arrangement will be somewhat on these lines;

1. The Educational Institution.
    1. The student.
    2. The non-Aryan or the sudra group.
2. The Family-Economic Institution.
    1. Marriage and family.
    2. The economic group.

3. The Political Institution.
    1. The partially retired man.
    2. The political group and the state.
4. The Religious Institution.
    1. The forest dweller.
    2. The teaching group.

The last group, the brahman, is divided into three parts. A brahman is a man of wisdom, and there is need for wisdom in all walks of life. So we have brahmans in the educational institution as teachers, in the family as priests, and in the state as the executive officials, judges and legislators. We shall, therefore, study the brahman group in our discussion of all the three institutions. The last, or the religious institution, will be studied with reference to the forest-dweller alone.

These four chapters will be the main body of the study. They will cover the entire field of Manu's social order.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

IN the last chapter it was shown that Manu accepted the two paths of life—those of involution and evolution, the distinction between life and matter, three characteristics of each, four types of personality easily classifiable into four groups, four social forces, four social institutions, the laws of karma and reincarnation, and yoga as the means of the attainment of the highest personality.

The Purpose of Education. A complete theory of education should deal with all the phases of the individual's life. Education should train his intellect, help him to control his actions and purify his desires. These three phases of education are directed toward assimilating the individual into the group culture. But a sound theory of education, according to Manu, should reconcile the claims of the

individual and the group. It should awaken his creative faculties, satisfy his spiritual aspirations, and help him to develop his highest personality. It should prepare him for liberation.

Plan of the Chapter. This chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the education of the individual (the first ashrama of Manu's social theory), presented under four headings: spiritual education, the education of the intellect, control of actions, and sublimation of desires.

Then will follow a discussion of the brahman group. The brahman is the wise man of the group, the repository of the wisdom contained in the Vedas. Owing to his wisdom and spiritual eminence, he should mingle with men in all phases of social life, and give them the benefit of his guidance. We shall study him here as a teacher.

The group corresponding to this stage of education is the sudra. As we have already noticed, there are two types of sudras: the child, and the non-Aryan. The first is a sudra on psychological grounds. He is still uninitiated into the group culture. But the second type is a sudra on ethnical grounds. He wears a different racial uniform, and is still unacquainted with the Aryan culture. Education must

help to assimilate these two types of sudras into the body politic. The first type of sudra should be given the sacrament of the Vedas, while the second should be made manual workers. They have to grow into membership of the Aryan group. They must rise in social status by development of intellectual and moral capacities. Both have to be subjected to the process of assimilation, both have to be made persons in terms of Manu's thought,—that is the Vedic culture of the Aryans.

The contents of this chapter may be cast in schematic outline as follows:

1. *Ashrama,* Brahmacharya (Education).
   - i. Spiritual education.
   - ii. Education of the intellect.
   - iii. Control of action.
   - iv. Sublimation of desire.
2. The Brahman group.
3. *Varna.* The sudra, the group of the the non-Aryans.

Philological Significance. Before we begin a detailed study of the contents of the educational system of Manu and the mechanisms he provides to control the student's behaviour, it may be well to pause here for a moment to understand the philological significance of the word brahmacharya, as it will throw into

bolder relief the purpose of this stage of the individual's life. Brahma is the creator, the Universal Self; and the word charya comes from a Sanskrit root which means to walk. Brahmacharya ashrama thus means "the stage of life in which an effort is made to learn how to work creatively so as to reach Brahma". The word thus brings out the ideal that pervades the institution. The student has to learn the art of living creatively on a small scale.

Education begins in the eighth year. It is interesting to note that formal instruction, in Manu's system of thought, does not begin till the eighth year of the student's life. In the first seven years the child has to "sense" the world around him. He should be left free to build his body and gain control of his instruments for co-ordinated activity. There is enough of strain and stress on the child during the first seven years of his life. There is home life; and the outer world is impinging upon him for attention all the time; to these must not be added the strain of mental education. Education must, therefore, begin after the period of childhood is over.

Different age-limits. Manu does not prescribe the same age for entering the educational

institution for all types of students. He provides different age-limits for different types. A child of a brahman who himself is to undertake the work of education in later life must not tarry long in his childhood stage. The child of a kshatriya who has to develop his muscle for service of the group must begin a little later, which is eleven; the child of vaishya in whom desire predominates must begin later still, and that is twelve.[1] But if these different types of children show signs of mental alacrity, they may begin even earlier. The initiation of a brahman child, desiring proficiency in sacred learning, may take place in the fifth year; of the kshatriya, desiring to become strong, in the sixth; and of the vaishya, longing for success in business, in the eighth.[2]

But none should wait too long. Time and tide wait for no man, nor does "Savitri", "the daughter of the Sun", the enlightening wisdom. The time of initiation of a brahman is over at the age of sixteen, of the kshatriya at twenty two, and of the vaishya at twenty four. If this sacrament has not been taken at these years of life, the three types of children remain sudras. And with these men,

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[1] II: 36.

[2] II. 37.

not initiated according to law, let none associate.[3]

The ceremony of the sacred thread. The ceremony of the sacred thread marks the close of childhood, and the beginning of formal education. Fun and frolic should now cease, and a new life should begin. Manu devises many plans to remind the neophyte of the self-control that should mark his life from now on. The student is given a sacred thread. It consists of three chords to remind him of the three-fold control,—control of thought, control of action, and control of desire. The sacred thread of the brahman consists of three cotton threads, of the kshtriya of hemp, and of the vaishya of woollen thread.[4] Among these, this investiture is symbolical of birth into the Veda. From now on, the Goddess of education, Savitri, is mother of the student, and the teacher is his father.[5]

The student is put under the entire control of the teacher; he should leave his parents' home to live with the teacher. He should be given a staff (danda), to symbolise the authority that controls him and also to give him protec-

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[3] II. 38—40.

[4] II. 44.

[5] II. 170.

tion from outside danger.[6] This staff should be made of different kinds of wood and in different sizes for the three types of children.[7]

Means of livelihood. The means of livelihood of the student should be begging. However high the social status of his parents may be, in his teacher's house he is as poor as his teacher. His pride of wealth cannot avail him here. He is to be trained into a life of service which is the law of progress, and this training must begin now. Having taken the staff, having worshipped the sun and walked around the fire, turning his right hand toward it, the student should beg alms according to the prescribed rules.[8] He should first beg food of his mother, his sister, his maternal aunt, or some other female relative who will not refuse him. He must take only as much as is necessary for his requirements. After proper ablutions and facing the east, he may eat it.[9] He should beg food from those houses where the Vedas are studied and where the inmates are

[6] The symbolical significance of the staff becomes clear in the seventh chapter in verses 14, 17, 18, and 28. It is the sceptre of authority, wielded by him who lives in accord with Dharma, be he a teacher or a king.

[7] II. 45—47.

[8] II. 48.

[9] II. 50—51.

known for their lawful pursuits. He should not beg from his teacher's relations. But if there are no other people in the vicinity, he may beg at the above-mentioned houses. But he must avoid those persons who are accused of mortal sin.[10]

This, then, is the "initiation" of the student. According to the Vedas, the first birth of the Aryan is from his natural mother, the second on the tying of the sacred thread, the third on the initiation for performance of the Srauta ceremony. Among these, the birth symbolised by the investiture of the sacred thread is the birth into the Vedas.[11]

Initiation for girls. This initiation ceremony should apply to girls as well as to boys. The future mother has to be prepared for the task of daily life as much as the father, though differences in physical and psychical constitution and function involve a corresponding difference in her education. After the initiation ceremony, Manu would have the boy go to the teacher's house, while the girl should stay with her parents for her training. The initiation ceremony should be performed for the female also, in order to sanctify her

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10 II. 183—85.

11 II. 169-70.

body, at the proper time and in the proper manner, but without sacred texts. The marriage ceremony is the sacrament for her; residing in her husband's house (after she is married) is equal to the boy's residing with the teacher; and due discharge of the household duties constitutes her daily worship.[12]

We have thus the same fundamental principles of education for the two sexes—formation of character. Initiation is just an introduction to that arduous task. But the contents of education for the two sexes should be different, their training-grounds should also be different. The boy should stay with the teacher and be trained in service and endurance, while the girl should live with her parents and learn the practical art of house-keeping.

I. The Student

1. *Spiritual Education: Meditation.* We shall begin with the spiritual education, which is the initial training in concentration and meditation intended to help the student to find his inner centre of activity.

Manu maintains that the day's work should begin and end with a little meditation or

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[12] II. 66-67.

prayer. Meditation "combs out" the mental entanglements and prepares the mind to greet the new day with delight. The student should meditate in the morning till the sun appears, and in the evening till the constellations can be seen clearly. Meditation in the morning removes the lethargy of the previous night, and the evening meditation clears away the mental fog raised by the dust-storm of the day's activities. And he who does not meditate thus at the two times, should be excluded as a sudra from all duties and rights of an Aryan.[13]

It is imperative that meditation should be done at these times. If the sun should rise or set while the student is still sleeping, intentionally or unintentionally, he should fast during the next day and recite the Savitri. Non-compliance with this rule is tantamount to incurring guilt. The student is urged to meditate at the two twilights, in clean surroundings, with purity of body, and concentration of mind.[14]

The meditation should begin and end with the recitation of the word Aum, "I am I". This is an assertion of his individuality, and of his oneness with all life, above and below.

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13 II. 101—103.

14 II. 220—22.

Its three syllables refer to the three worlds: the physical, the emotional, and the mental (II. 75). Its recitation is intended to remind him of the control he must exercise on these three planes of his being. Seated on grass, facing east, the place of light, purified in body, by regulated breath, the student should begin with Aum. Aum is the substance of all the Vedas, and an inseperable part of the Goddess of Education. Three years of regular meditation and practice of scientific breathing will help the student to transcend the limitations of matter, develop his psychic powers, help him to move as lightly as air, assume an ethereal form, and make him a "walker of the skies". Sacrifices, according to the Vedas, are good; uttered prayer is better; an inaudible prayer better still; but best of all is the mental meditation.[15] This meditation is the student's homage to that One Life from which all creation flows and to which all returns. It helps him to draw nearer to that source; it liberates his higher faculties.

2. *The Education of the Intellect.* The subject of study is the teachings of the Vedas, the fundamentals laid down in the preceding

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[15] II. 75-86.

chapter, the commentaries, and the sacred texts dealing with the sacred rites. There are no forbidden days for their study. A daily recitation is a Brahma-Sattra, an offering to Brahma; and he who, controlling himself, recites the Vedas according to the rules laid down, for one year, can cause sweet and sour milk, butter and honey, to flow.[16] The greatest preparation for a dedicated life is the study of the Vedas, and a twice-born must always study them; one who has omitted this from his mental equipment lives in a mental fog, becomes a sudra.[17]

As in meditation, so in study, each lesson must begin and end with the word Aum. In the midst of all activity and study, the student must retain his self-recollectedness. If this is not done, he is not likely to gain much from his study.[18]

Manu thus lays great emphasis on religious education. It is the corner-stone of his whole educational structure. Thus trained, the student will be a potent force for good in the world, and not a blind man leading the blind.

But being well grounded in the fundamentals of the Vedas alone is not enough. Not *all* can

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16 II. 105-7.

17 II. 166-68.

18 II. 74.

be philosophers, nor should any one be *only* a philosopher. We must aim to produce an all-round personality. The student should study psychology (kama shastra). This will teach him the use of the senses in gaining knowledge, the place of sex, the function of will in the changing of habits, and a knowledge of the laws of heredity. He should study political science (artha shastra), which will school him in the principles of government and administration, of exchange and currency, so that on his entrance to the world as a householder and a citizen, he can earn his livelihood and take an intelligent part in the affairs of his country. Finally he must study social science (dharma shastra) which will teach him the fundamentals of social solidarity, and the duties that he owes to all. These are the three sciences which the student should master before he enters the life of active citizenship. Thus equipped, he will be competent to discharge intelligently the duties of the succeeding stages of life and share joyously in their rights and privileges.[19]

3. *Training of action.* The third part of the student's training deals with his behaviour. "Behaviour is righteousness". It is in childhood

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[19] II. 224.

that the control of action should begin, and Manu maintains that this should be in the form of service to his teacher and to his parents. The teacher imparts the wisdom contained in the Vedas, and the student must support his teacher and his family by begging. He must show reverence to his teacher always. At the beginning and end of each lesson he should touch the feet of his teacher in reverence; with folded hands should he receive all education.[20] He should reverentially salute his teacher from whom he gains all knowledge of Brahma, of the Vedas, and of worldly affairs.[21]

The teacher who fills both ears of the student with the Vedas should be considered his father and mother. He should never be offended. The giver of knowledge should be more honoured than the father who gave merely a physical existence. Birth in the knowledge of the Vedas ensures eternal happiness. His parents gave him mere physical birth through mutual union, but the giver of the knowledge of the Vedas frees him from the round of births and deaths. The man who gives him instruction in the Vedas, be it little or much, is his teacher; and however young the teacher may be in years,

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20 II. 71.

21 II. 117.

he becomes a "father" of the pupil even though the pupil be older than the teacher.[22]

The teacher is called the pupil's father because he gives him the Veda and performs the initiation ceremony which no one else can. And he who has not been regularly initiated is not entitled to study the Vedas, for he is still only a sudra.[23]

Service to the teacher. There are many instructions dealing with this subject of reverence to the teacher. The student should maintain silence in the teacher's presence, sit down after the teacher is seated, eat less, wear less valuable clothes and ornaments, rise earlier, retire latter. He should not engage himself in heated discussion with his teacher, talk to him in a reclining position, address him without adding honorific titles, mimic his gait, speech, or deportment, or suffer any defamation of his character without protest. He should serve his teacher without being asked, not interrupt when he is busy talking with some one else, or sit on a seat on a level with his. (II. 191-204).

Wisdom, not kingly power, social status, or age, should command the student's highest homage. There are degrees of respect shown to

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[22] II. 144—50.

[23] II. 171—27.

people in different stages of life. Manu narrates an interesting anecdote to illustrate this point. "Young Kavi, the son of Angiras, taught his relatives who were old enough to be his fathers; and as he excelled them in sacred knowledge, he called them 'little sons'. They, moved with resentment, asked the gods concerning this matter; and the gods, having assembled, answered, 'The child has addressed you properly. For a man destitute of sacred knowledge is indeed a child, and he who teaches him the Vedas is his father. The sages have always said 'child' to an ignorant man, and 'father' to a teacher of the Vedas'."[24]

The seniority of the brahman comes from sacred knowledge; of the kshatriya from valour; of the vaishya from wealth, and of the sudra alone from age. A man is not, therefore, to be revered because of his grey hair. He who, though young, has learned the Vedas, the gods consider to be venerable.[25]

Service to parents. The student should also learn to serve his parents. He should be a source of joy to his father and mother who gave him his physical body. The teacher, the father, the mother, and the elder brother should not

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[24] II. 151—53.

[25] II. 155—56.

be treated with disrespect, however great the provocation may be. The teacher is the image of Brahma, father of Prajapati, mother of the Earth, and brother of oneself. The trouble and the hardships that the parents undergo on the birth of their child cannot be compensated even in a hundred lives. The student should always try to please them. And when they are pleased, he will receive the full benefit of all his endeavours.[26]

This is the student's training for the life of service that awaits him in later years. He should not demand equality with his teacher or his parents when he hardly knows the rudiments of the experiences through which they have passed. Manu denies emphatically that there is such a thing as equality. Diversity and relativity are the law of life. No two human beings possess equal faculties. To each is assigned his own task and status in life (dharma), and he must attend to them well, receiving such compensation as is his due.

Obedience to authority. In addition to service, the student must learn to obey. Well ordered activity, under the guidance of those who know and who have gathered the fruits of experience, is the best training

[26] II. 225—28.

for independent action in later years. The price of liberty is obedience, paradoxical though it may seem. The student is still a "candidate for humanity", and he must learn to be led. Obedience to authority is the foundation of character, according to Manu. Also, respect for law and loyalty as a citizen are both based on obedience learnt in youth. Only he who knows how to obey is fit to rule. One not trained in obedience is likely to be tyrannical, unjust, unfair when he is placed in a position of authority. Be it, therefore, the child of a brahman, a king, or a merchant, he must be taught to obey. The student should not do anything without knowledge or guidance of the teacher, the father and the mother. These three are equal to the three Vedas and the three sacred fires. He who does not neglect them, even after entering the family life, will live happily. By honouring these three, he gains all the three worlds. But he who does not honour them performs all the rites in vain. As long as they live, let him do nothing without their knowledge, let him always inform them of everything he may do in thought, word or deed.[27]

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[27] ii. 229—37.

Good Manners. Allied with the above is the subject of good manners. He who always respectfully salutes the aged gains four things: length of life, knowledge, fame, and strength.[28] The methods of saluting uncle, father-in-law, mother-in-law, aunt, teacher's wife, officiating priest, brother's wife, father's sister, mother's sister, elder sister, and fellow-citizen are given in detail (II. 130-34). But among them all, the teacher is the superior person. A brahman of ten years and a kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son; and of these two the brahman is the father.[29]

Wisdom stands supreme in all situations. Wealth, kindred, age, due performance of rites and sacred knowledge are titles to respect; and each later named is more important than the preceding one. Any person possessing these qualifications is worthy of the highest honour. A sudra who has attained the tenth decade of his life is also worthy of honour.[30] It is a mark of good manners to give the right of precedence to a man riding in a carriage, a ninety year old man, a sick person,

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[28] II. 121.

[29] II. 135.

[30] II. 136-137.

one with burden on his head, a woman, a teacher, a king, and a bridegroom. But if one meets all these at the same time, the teacher and the king must be given precedence; and between these two, the former receives honour from the latter.[31]

4. *Sublimation of desire.* Last, but not least, comes the control of desire. In the very opening verses of the chapter, Manu states that desire is the dominating motive of life. It is deeply implanted in human nature, and should be given due satisfaction. Not a single action of man is done here in the physical world without the impelling power of desire.[32] But desire should be given a legitimate satisfaction; it should not be allowed to run riot in one's being, and to play havoc with his faculties. He who seeks to satisfy his desires according to dharma will obtain fulfilment of them all, and reach a deathless state in this very life.[33]

If it is intended that life should be full and intense, then the physical energies should be properly conserved, and not dissipated in

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[31] II. 138-40.

[32] II. 4.

[33] II. 5.

fissiparous tendencies. And the first requisite is perfect continence, abstinence from all erotic thoughts and actions. The senses should be controlled and with them the mind. If the student keeps feeding the senses, he is adding fuel to fire, for the senses can never be satisfied by indulgence. A wise man should strive to control his senses as a wise charioteer controls his horses. There are eleven organs—the ears, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose, called the organs of senses; the generative organ, the hands, the feet, the excretory organ, and the organ of speech, called the organs of action. And the eleventh is the mind, the unifying factor of all. When one has controlled the mind, he will be able to conquer the other ten also. Attachment to the objects of senses only adds to the lengthening chain of births and deaths, while control brings release. Desire is never extinguished by enjoyment of desired objects; it only grows stronger like a fire fed with butter.[34] Knowledge derived from study of the Vedas and meditation is, according to Manu, the best means of controlling the desires of the senses. But neither study nor austerities can produce

[34] II. 38-95.

freedom if the mind is set on sense enjoyment.[35]

It is, therefore, imperative that the student should occupy his mind with all the higher pursuits of life. He should study subjects that will fit him for some vocation and which will help to marshal all his energies for self-control. Study of the Vedas alone will tax his best energies, and if the student keeps up the routine of daily life prescribed for him, he will not have much difficulty in freeing his mind from the onslaughts of sense attractions. The marks of a man of self-control are that on hearing, touching, seeing, tasting, and smelling, he neither rejoices nor repines;[36] he is calm and does not react.

Such a man knows the joy of self control, which is the purest joy of life. He alone is fit to be a father or a husband, and to enter the family life. He has no fear of dissipation. He knows the duties he owes to his own higher self and to the family. A sense of responsibility has been ingrained in him.

Endurance. The student should learn the virtue of endurance. He should not indulge in luxurious habits, crave an easy seat

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[35] II. 97.

[36] II. 98.

or a dainty dish. His food should consist of what he gets by begging; hard, bare ground should be his bed. An Aryan who has been initiated should bring fuel to feed the sacred fire daily, beg food, sleep on the ground, and serve his teacher till his education is completed.[37] During the course of his residence with his teacher, he should bathe and purify himself every day, he should offer libations to the Gods, sages, manes, and feed the sacred fire with fuel.[38]

His food should be simple and his personal wants few. He should abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, food flavours, acid foods, women, and doing injury to living beings. He should not anoint his body, apply collyrium to his eyes, use shoes, carry an umbrella, dance, sing, play musical instruments, entertain sensual desires, and be angry. He should abstain from gambling, idle disputes, back-biting, lying, from looking at women and touching them. He should sleep alone and not lose his manhood. He who abuses himself breaks his vow of chastity.[39] This self-control will give him energy to carry on meditation and self-refinement.

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[37] II. 108.

[38] II. 176.

[39] II. 177-80.

The teacher is enjoined to see that a student whom he is taking into his custody is deserving. If the student shows no merit and is not obedient, in such soil sacred knowlege should not be sown. Even in times of distress a teacher of the Vedas should rather die than sell his knowledge to an undeserving student. "Sacred Learning came to the brahman and said to him, 'I am thy treasure, preserve me, deliver me not to a scorner. So preserved, I shall be able to do good. Deliver me to a man of pure nature, subdued senses, chaste and attentive'." And he who prematurely acquires knowledge of the Vedas should be considered to have stolen it; he will hurt himself.[40]

Rationale of early control. Education should consist of training in service to the teacher and parents, in obedience to authority, in simplicity, in self-control, in synthetic vision that sees One Brahma in the high and the low. A student thus trained is alone ready to pass on into the maelstrom of daily life. With these social attitudes acquired by study and meditation and firmly fixed in his nature during the plastic period of his life, he will accept on equal terms

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40 II. 112—16.

every one as a part of the social organism. His physical body will be strong enough for the strain of earning a livelihood and maintaining a family. An appeal to him for civic service will not fail to evoke a response. He will be a good father and a good citizen, and justice will guide his actions in daily life.

The whole educational theory of Manu is intended to create a community of feeling and thought in the mind of the young generation. Education is effective only when begun in the plastic period of life, before persistent habits are formed and energy has learnt to flow along certain well defined channels. The student should leave the parental roof at an early age and live with his teacher. His uninterrupted association with his teacher for the whole day and night is the best and easiest way of awakening self-knowledge and developing a consistent character, for such an arrangement avoids the pull of antagonistic environments outside the school. In other words, there should be a "twenty-four hour school", to use the expression of Professors Hartshorne and May.

When education is so arranged, emphasis is on discipline and character, on ability to see the unity of all life, on synthetic vision, and

not on mere accumulation of facts. The test of the student's worthiness for full participation in group life is his character. A twice-born man who has not had the spiritual and intellectual training prescribed by the Vedas, and who undertakes the duties of the succeeding stages of life prematurely, soon becomes a sudra and causes his descendants also to become sudras.[41]

Graduation. The educational career of the student should be brought to a close only when the teacher certifies that the student has fulfilled the required conditions. The close of his career should be marked by a final bath, something analogous to the graduation ceremony of to-day.

But before leaving his teacher the student should give an offering (guru-dakshina) to the teacher who gave him early shelter and put into his hands the power of wisdom by means of which to guide his life. This offering should be given only when the period of education is over and the Sacred Law of the Vedas has been learnt. There should be no fixed fee. The student should be free to offer anything within his limits. Offerings from the children of kings, merchants, and poor men should neces-

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41 II. 168.

sarily vary. They should be according to the means of the student. They may be a grant of land, gold, a cow, a horse, a parasol, shoes, a seat, grain, vegetables.[42]

Summary. This, then, is Manu's view of the education of the individual. It should attend to all the sides of his nature. It should train his intellect by means of the study of philosophy (Vedas), social sciences, political science, and psychology; it should train his actions by teaching him to serve his teacher and parents, to practise good manners, and to respect authority; it should train his desires by helping him to subordinate the lower needs, the animal impulses, to have few personal wants, and to be used to a hard and rough life. By means of meditation, he should become able to focus all his energies on higher forms of personal achievement and the pursuit of the beautiful, the good, and the true. Meditation brings realisation of the spiritual unity pervading all creation. It helps to resolve the chaotic dance of the elements in one's personality into a cosmos of energetic aspiration, both inward and upward. Meditation is Manu's "moral equivalent for war". It constitutes an appeal to the inner self as a force

42 II. 245—46.

in the formation of permanent attitudes and character.

Education should thus strengthen the character of the student, and help him to be a human being (manava), "to walk in the footsteps of Brahma". Education should be a preparation for life in the following three stages. If thus conducted, it will eliminate all conflict and competition between the individual and the group, and reconcile the claims of both in a harmonious hole.

II. The Brahman

We now come to the brahman group. The brahman is as much a part of the educational institution as the student, and if the student is subjected to control, the teacher cannot have immunity from it.

The brahman, as we have seen in the third chapter, is a man of refinement. He is a man of satvic temperament. He is the repository of all wisdom and sacred science. Among the three twice-born groups of Manu, he is created from the mouth of Brahma, and his main function, therefore, is to spread wisdom through his mouth. Syambhu, the Self-Existent, produced the brahman from His mouth so that offerings

might be made to the gods and to the pitris (the dead), and thus the universe might be carried on. In the world the animate are better than the inanimate; among the animate, those that have developed intelligence are better; among the intelligent animals, man is better; among men the brahman is the best. He is the best brahman who knows Brahma. None can surpass him who can contact the gods through his ceremonial science.[43]

The brahman's supremacy lies, symbolically speaking, in his creation from the mouth of Brahma, that is, in his knowledge of the Vedas, the sacred science by means of which he is able to perform ceremonies and contact the realms beyond the physical, and thus minister to the higher needs of the living and the dead. The birth of the brahman through the mouth of Brahma, and of other groups through other parts, is only a metaphorical way of explaining the different functions of these groups. It reminds one of the organic theory of society of Herbert Spencer, or of the classic example of Plato who said that the philosopher sprang from the head, the warrior from the heart, and the merchant from the stomach of God.

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[43] I. 94-97; also I. 87-88.

Manu's brahman, by virtue of his birth, should alone dispense divine wisdom. He alone is entitled to be the teacher of the Vedas. The three twice-born groups, living their lives, may study the Vedas, but the brahman alone is entitled to teach them, not the other two. This is the established rule.[44] The brahman's superiority in the social order derives from his services, noble origin, knowledge of Brahma, and personal purity.[45] The God Varuna, who holds the sceptre of authority, is superior even to the king. But a brahman who has studied and lived the life of the Vedas is the lord of the whole world.[46] The very birth of a brahman is a blessing to the nation, as he upholds the law of righteousness and guards its sacred treasures.[47]

Three types of brahmans. There are three types of brahmans: (1) those who are engaged in education as teachers and professors, and (2) those who are concerned with sacred duties of the families as priests and preachers. The former type moulds the human material, and the latter manipulates the super-physical forces;

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44 X. 1.
45 X. 3.
46 IX. 245.
47 I. 98-99.

the one speaks from the rostrum of the class room, the other from the pulpit of the temple. But a unity of function, wisdom and spiritual guidance of the people, unites them both.[48]

(3) The third type of brahman is concerned with affairs of state. He should sit at the court of the king, work in the cabinet, formulate legislative policies, interpret the Vedic Law of Righteousness (Dharma), and dispense justice. The most important minister in the cabinet of the king should be a brahman. He should be entrusted with the official business.[49] He should be invited to settle all matters of dispute not specifically decided by the Vedas. The decision of a brahman who has studied the Vedas and the commentaries and who is able to adduce perceptible proofs in support of his statements, should be considered final.[50] What he declares to be law, should be so considered, not that which is proclaimed by the ignorant masses.[51] A king desirous of promoting justice should enter his court in a dignified manner together with brahmans and experienced councillors.[52]

48 X. 74—75.
49 VII. 59.
50 XII. 108—9.
51 XII. 113.
52 VIII. 1.

Characteristics of a brahman. The duties of all the three types of brahmans (professors, priests, and statesmen) is really the same: to attend to that side of social life which demands wisdom and guidance. His life must be one of great personal discipline. Indeed, he must be more exacting with himself than with others if he wants to justify his eminent position in the group. For a brahman, self-discipline and wisdom (tapas and vidya) are the only means of self-fulfilment. By discipline he burns away the impurities of body and mind which obstruct his vision; through wisdom, he attains the Immortal.[53]

All progress, individual and social, is rooted, begins, is maintained, and ends in self-discipline. This is the view of the wise men. The discipline of the brahman is one-pointed study of the Vedas, of the warrior protection of the people, of the merchant trade and agriculture, and of the sudras service of these three groups. The sages who live on pure food and pure air can penetrate the mysteries of life through personal discipline. The good results that come out of knowledge of medicine come to them through yoga, and all difficulties

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[53] XII. 104.

melt away before them. Verily, discipline (tapas) is irresistible.[54]

Tapas literally means fire. Here, it stands for persistent endeavour and self-control. It is based on yoga, referred to in the previous chapter. A brahman must be a man of tapas, he must generate internal fire that burns up all his dross and gives him a clear vision of Brahma. Such a brahman can guide the group safely and righteously.

1. The brahman of the teaching class should be acquainted with various branches of knowledge so that he may be able to attend to the varied demands of different types of students. He should know the means of subsistence for all, instruct them accordingly and live himself in accord with the law.[55] He should study the science of social relations (Dharma Shastra) and teach it; he must practise what he preaches. He should control his thought, speech and action. Such a brahman's presence will be a blessing to any group of men, and he will help the spiritual evolution of seven generations of ancestors and seven of descendants.[56]

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54 XI. 239-39.

55 X. 9.

56 I. 102-110.

2. The brahman of the priestly class should understand the rationale of the ritual which he may be called upon to conduct. His ceremonial recitations should not be merely sentimental bleats or automatic utterances. He should realise the force of the super-physical science which he is wielding by using sacred texts (mantras) which are highly charged with power. Only under such circumstances will his ceremonies bear fruit and help those who have passed into the Beyond for whom they are intended. Without this knowledge all ceremonial is a waste of time, and the brahman is as good as a wooden elephant or a leather antelope. A brahman who does not know this hidden power of the Vedic mantras is as useless as a eunuch with women, as unprolific as cow mating with cow, or like an ignorant man to whom it does no good to give a gift.[57] A brahman, knowing that the performance of rites has science as its basis, should always perform them with proper knowledge.[58]

The priest is always in demand for family services, and it is imperative that he be acquainted with the science of the sacraments.

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[57] II. 157—58.

[58] IV. 24.

3. The task of the third type of the brahman, the statesman, is equally important. He is the guardian of the Vedic Law (Dharma) the Law of Righteousness. He is the watch-dog of the nation. He should see that justice is done to all. He should be above all reproach. He should meditate and recognise the Self in all, discriminate the real from the unreal, and uphold righteousness.[59]

Besides these special qualifications of the three types of brahmans engaged in the three distinct lines of work, Manu mentions certain general characteristics of the brahman group as a whole. A brahman should not exploit the name of his group under any circumstances. Pride of birth, rank, or profession is a mark of vulgarity. A brahman should not mention his name, family, or group. He who boasts of his birth to secure a meal ill-deserves the food he eats.[60] Indeed, lest honour from people inflate his egotism, he should not only refrain from eliciting recognition and public esteem, but deliberately avoid them when they are given to him. He should always fear homage as if it were poison. He should welcome scorn if it comes his way. He will then have

[59] XII. 118.
[60] III. 109.

an easy sleep, will wake with an easy mind, and will be able to carry himself erect among the people. His scorner shall perish.[61] When any respect is accorded to him, however, he should accept it gracefully and acknowledge it appropriately. It is a mark of genuine culture to return salutation in a proper manner. A brahman who does not know how to reciprocate courtesy shown to him should be given none. He is a sudra.[62]

He should be gentle in speech. The best conviction is carried not by noise but by gentleness. It is only when speech is gentle that those who hear it profit by it. One striving to live the life of Law should not strike a discordant note with his tongue. People should be instructed in their welfare without giving pain. Sweet and gentle speech should be used by him who wants to live according to the Law. He whose speech and thoughts are pure and controlled is alone living the proper life. He should never say a word in thought or deed that may make others afraid of him.[63] A brahman should not waste his energies in frivolous talk. The virtue of silence should be

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[61] II. 162—63.

[62] II. 126.

[63] II. 159—61.

sedulously cultivated. Unless he be asked, he should not talk to anybody, nor should he answer a person who questions inappropriately. A wise man, though he may know much, should behave as if he knows nothing.[64] If the brahman is given to too much talk, he is likely to give away the secret knowledge which might prove harmful in the hands of the uninitiated. He who unlawfully explains, and he who unlawfully asks, will die or incur each other's enmity.[65]

It is only when the brahman has learnt to control his tongue in the manner described above that he can use it effectively. His instruction will then impress the minds of his listeners. Only on one occasion may he use the sacred word of power that might destroy others, and that is in self-defence. A brahman is not allowed any implements to protect himself. His best armour is the sacred knowledge. He can use without hesitation the sacred word revealed by Atharvan and the Angiras. Speech is the weapon for the brahman; with that he should fight his opponents.[66]

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64 II. 110.

65 111. 11.

66 XI. 33.

The brahman's means of livelihood. A brahman should only accept enough food to satisfy his hunger. He should accept from the king, from his pupils who beg for him, and from the families for which he performs ceremonies.[67]

Thus he should live on charity. Manu has a threefold purpose in view in insisting on the poverty of the brahman. Firstly, a brahman with no worldly possessions will not endanger the group; there will be no fear of a theocratic tyranny. Secondly, poverty will ensure freedom from external control. A brahman should have liberty of thought and expression, and his energies should be concentrated on cultural pursuits. Thirdly, the just reward of wisdom is not wealth but honour. Money is a poor compensation for spiritual eminence. The richest and the most sacred treasure of the brahman should be wisdom, not wealth. If he is not a slave to the sense of possession, he can be a master of all, and the world will spread its choicest treasures before him. The brahman is entitled to everything in the world. It belongs to him by right of his excellent origin. He eats his own food, wears his own clothes

[67] IV. 33.

and bestows his own charity. Others live through his beneficence.[68]

This is the brahman of Manu's theory : a man of wisdon, humility, gentleness and poverty. The education of the rising generation, the conducting of family services through knowledge of the super-physical, and the protection of Law, are his main duties. He is the "head", the brain of the social organism, and his freedom from external control is best secured by self-imposed poverty.

Manu does not countenance theocracy. A poor brahman cannot be a source of danger to the social order. Manu is concerned only with directing attention to the characteristics of him who should guide the group in its social affairs by his wisdom. The brahman is a specialised student of the Vedas, a man of character, and such a man should be allowed to guide the group in the various phases of its life.

III. THE SUDRA

Two types of sudras. 1. The child. We now come to the discussion of the group corresponding to the student stage, the non-Aryan group (sudra varna). As we have already

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[68] I. 100—101.

seen, Manu uses the word "sudra" in a psychological and an ethnical sense. Psychologically, a child is a sudra. His ignorance of the life conditions and group culture puts him in the same category as the alien. In order to become an actively participating member of society he must assimilate the thoughts and ideals of that society. This is done during the period of education. From an undefined, ignorant individual, education converts him into a conscious, intelligent, and self-guiding person. It gives him a "second birth", and shows him a path of life that will help him to develop his highest personality and reach the goal of final liberation.

2. *The Non-Aryan.* The sudra of the second type that Manu had to deal with was the member of the alien group, the original, dark-coloured native of India. These non-Aryans were slowly conquered and reduced to the status of working classes; Manu could not overlook their presence. He therefore makes many provisions intended to give opportunity to these people to advance socially and morally, and to be assimilated into the Aryan culture. But prior to their assimilation Manu puts them in the category of the child. Every once-born is a sudra, and remains such till he receives

the sacrament of the Vedas and is born a second time thereby.[69]

But Manu would not suffer them to be reduced to slavery. The very fact of their being born from the feet of Brahma establishes their oneness with the rest of their fellow-men. And Manu, accepting the teachings of the Vedas, does not deny them the right of fair treatment. But he does not accept the position of their equality with the Aryan groups. In fact, the concept of equality is entirely absent from Manu's social theory. No two groups are alike or equal. Each group has its own rights and duties.

Psycho-physical basis of sudra's status. The sudra occupies a peculiar position in the social order. He cannot commit an offence causing the loss of his caste; and since he has not received the sacrament of the Vedas, he has no duties that are laid down for an Aryan. Yet there is no prohibition against his fulfilling certain inparts of the Law as it applies to him.[70]

A sudra is almost an "irresponsible" person, having no duties since he is not entitled to the sacrament. He is not subject to controls imposed by the Vedic sacrament, and conse-

[69] II. 172.

[70] X. 126.

quently there is nothing that will take away his caste. He is "once-born", but he cannot receive initiation as an Aryan child. Consequently the method of admitting him to the Aryan group must be different from that used for the Aryan child. He should be given an opportunity to advance in social status under certain restrictions.

A sudra, while he still wears his racial uniform, cannot be a judge (VIII. 20-21); nor can he undertake study of the sacred knowledge contained in the Vedas (III. 156; IV. 99; X. 127); nor can he be made to bear the burden of sacrificial duties that are incumbent on members of the twice-born group (III. 178). These are not to be considered as disabilities or limitations. They are intended for the good of the sudra himself. His best path of progress lies in service, manual work. That is what he is psycho-physically fitted for, and when he has discharged his duties, he can become a part of the Aryan fold. If he fails to attend to his duties (dharma), he will cause confusion. He is as necessary for the solidarity of the group-life as are the three Aryan groups.[71]

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[71] VIII. 418.

He is, therefore, made a co-worker with these groups for a harmonious, life. His duty is service, but he is a "free man". If work with the other groups is not available, and if he is threatened with starvation for himself and his family, he may maintain himself by handicrafts. He may adopt those mechanical and practical arts by which the twice-born are best served.[72]

Social Mobility. As we have seen, Manu's social theory is based on psychology and ethics. Consequently, the mechanisms devised by him for a free, vertical circulation of individuals in society are qualitative, psychological and ethical, rather than quantitative, biological, and economic. There is only one way to make a twice-born out of a sudra, and that is through the slow process of his own evolution, which can be quickened by associating him with other groups, so that he imitates them, and the example of their lives strikes deep and becomes inwardly grafted in his heart. Just as the student is made to live with his teacher, so must the sudra live with other groups in intimate contact, attending to their needs. Though he is of a

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[72] X. 99—100.

dark colour, Manu would have him stay even with the brahman, so that he can profit by imitation and suggestion. Service to the brahman will bring him reward in this and the next life. He who serves the brahman gains all his desires. This is declared to be the best occupation for the sudra. Other occupations will not benefit him as much.[73] To serve the brahman who is well versed in the Vedas, the householder, and the virtuous man, is the highest duty of the sudra.[74] Thus can the social distance be eliminated when the highest and the humblest are brought into intimate and vital contact with each other.

And whenever a sudra shows signs of progress, he should be given a chance to rise. If he discharges well his duties and lives the life of a good and virtuous man, he should be encouraged, but not given the .sacrament as yet. As he strives with earnestness and without envy and imitates the example of the good and the holy, he will progress in this world and the next.[75]

Manu acknowledges the ability of each person to raise himself by his will. It is by

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73 X. 122-23.

74 IX. 334.

75 X. 127-28.

personal exertion that a man can change his whole inner being and determine his social status or spiritual eminence.[76] Each soul is a spark of the divine life, growing towards a better realisation of his hidden divinity, and it is the duty of the group to recognise that effort and reward it appropriately. And therefore if a sudra is pure, is gentle in speech, free from pride, and lives with virtuous brahmans, he should be admitted to a higher status.[77] Furthermore, if a sudra should enter the house of a brahman, he should be treated as a guest and given hospitality. He should be fed along with the retainers.[78]

Manu cautions the Aryan group against having too large a number of sudras in their midst. The fewer the unassimilated strangers the better for them. An unduly large group (feet constituting the criterion in comparison with the rest of the physical organism) would only serve as a dead weight on the rest of the community. It is therefore in the interests of the Aryans to assimilate this class of people, and not allow them to outnumber themselves. A kingdom where sudras predominate, which

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76 X. 42.

77 IX. 335.

78 III. 112.

is full of atheists, and where the higher element of the population ceases to procreate, perishes from disease and famine.[79]

Mixed Castes. The ninth chapter of the Code contains some material on mixed castes that does not seem to harmonise with the parts just analysed. This chapter, in considerable part, written in a harsh tone, contains remarks against the "mulatto". It reflects an attitude of mind that is entirely alien to the general spirit of Manu's theory, and is in strong contrast with what we have said in the preceding pages in regard to the sudra's being associated with the three Aryan groups. There is, for example, a long list of names by which to distinguish the offspring of inter-racial marriages (X. 8-39). They are assigned menial occupations (X. 46-50), and, furthermore, segregated in slums and dirty dwellings on the outskirts of towns and villages (X. 51-56). It is probable that these remarks are subsequent interpolations and represent an ossified class-society from which fluidity had departed. But immediately following these statements, there is a remark that a man is known by his behaviour, not by birth.

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79 VIII. 22.

A man of impure origin who does not belong to any specific group, who is not an Aryan but has the appearance of an Aryan, can be discovered by his behaviour. Behaviour, unworthy of an Aryan, harshness, cruelty, habitual neglect of duties, betrays the impure origin of a man. Behaviour is more significant than the mere accident of birth. [80]

It is also probable that Manu is trying to warn the Aryan groups against indiscriminate intermixture, and the disabilities to which their offspring are likely to be subjected. However, the point to be emphasised is that Manu is not in favour of racial amalgamation, unless and until the sudra has been tested by close association with the members of the higher groups. The sudra should be incorporated into the Aryan group on grounds of mental and moral efficiency. When he has learnt to behave righteously, he is *ipsofacto* a member of the higher groups " in this world and the next" (IX. 128).

These are some of the ways which Manu has provided for the attainment of a higher social status by the sudra. It is the duty of the group to see to his welfare, to give

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[80] X, 57-58.

him opportunities of intimate social contacts, to recognise his moral effort, to allow him independence in earning his livelihood, and to extend hospitality to him. It is by means of this close association that the sudra can be assimilated into the group. He should not be discarded because of his colour or inferiority. If One Life pervades all, as the Vedas teach, we cannot deny it to the humblest of mortals.

The sudra in turn must discharge his duties. They are not limitations but the means of his growth. A willing acknowledgement of his duties and their due discharge without cavil or resentment, relying on the law that no effort for self-improvement can ever be lost, constitutes the dharma of the sudra. In recognition of their respective duties by members of each group lies the peaceful advance of the social order.

This brings our study of Manu's first social institution to a close. Education is mainly devoted to the assimilative process. It is intended to initiate the child and the sudra into the life that the Vedas teach. Manu devises control mechanisms for both types of sudras. The process is association with the teacher in the case of the child and contact with the Aryan group in case of the non-Aryan.

Service to the teacher and parents, meditation, simplicity, self-control, and study are the mechanisms in the case of the former; imitation and service of the higher groups for the latter. Certification by the teacher entitles the student to enter the family life; mental and moral efficiency are the criteria of admission into the higher status for the latter. By such means Manu has sought to solve the problem of assimilating the two types of sudras.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY-ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

EDUCATION over, the individual should pass on to the second stage of his life, that of the householder. He is equipped with the knowledge of the Vedas, and he knows the real purpose of life. Education has fitted him intellectually for his new task. The second stage should give an opportunity of satisfying another side of his nature. Desire for satisfaction of biological needs, for family, and for property should be given their due share, but with an eye to the development of the highest personality. •

Plan of the chapter. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the family institution (grahasta ashrama) and the economic group (vaishya varna). Under the former, marriage and family are discussed separately. Marriage

is a legal institution, its basis is biological, though, according to Manu, it should be governed by ethical considerations. But family comes into being as soon as a child is born. The presence of a child starts a series of new relations and involves new responsibilities for the married couple.

The fundamental basis of the economic institution is also desire. Desire manifests itself in many ways; sex is one form of it, property is another. Through desire, the self projects itself into the universe and makes that universe a part of itself. Desire should not be curbed; it has to be accepted and given its modicum of satisfaction. It forms the basis of the family and the economic institutions. To each of these are attached certain ethical values. This chapter falls, then, into the following outline:

1. *Ashrama.* (Grahasta).
    - i. Marriage, its biological and ethical aspects.
    - ii. Family, its educational and ethical aspects.
2. *Varna.* (Vaishya). Economic group.
    - i. The occupations.
    - ii. Their ethical basis.

I. Marriage

Nature and place of woman. Woman, according to Manu, should be protected and honoured at all stages of her life. Her father should protect her in her childhood, her husband in her youth, and her son in her old age. Woman should not be left unguarded.[1] The father who does not give his daughter in marriage at the proper time, the husband who does not approach her in due season, and the son who does not protect her when her husband is dead, should all be reprehended.[2]

But this is not intended to suggest that she should be closetted in the house by compulsion. She has certain duties; she should keep the household accounts, keep the vessels clean, help to fulfil the religious duties, and prepare the food for the family.[3] The performance of these duties ensures her safety and progress. No extraneous protection will be of much use if she is bent upon neglecting her duties. Woman guarded in the house by trustworthy and obedient servants

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1 IX. 4-5.

2 V. 147-49.

3 IX. 10-11.

cannot be said to be well guarded; she who is self protected is best protected.[4]

Women should be honoured and adorned by fathers and brothers, by husbands, and also by brothers-in-law. Where women are honoured, the gods rejoice; but when they are neglected, all rites and ceremonies are fruitless. Where women grieve, that family quickly perishes. But where women do not grieve, it ever prospers. Houses on which unhonoured women pronounce a curse perish as if by magic.[5] Woman is the instrument of prosperity, a source of joy to the gods, and she deserves honour from all.

But she can work her own ruin. Manu gives the circumstances under which she is likely to go astray. Drinking, associating with immoral people, separating from her husband, roaming around, sleeping late, and dwelling with other men, these are the six causes of her ruin.[6] She may neglect her appearance, develop an artificial passion, become heartless, disloyal to her husband, given to excessive love of bed and ornaments, may harbour impure

[4] IX. 12.
[5] III. 55-58.
[6] IX. 13.

desires, be wrathful, dishonest, or malicious. (IX. 14-17). In the company of such women no sacramental rites should be performed. That is the law. If they are destitute of moral strength, and know not the Vedas, and are impure and false, there are no rites for them.[7]

Woman should consider her marriage a sacrament, and should discharge the duties befitting her life. Her residing in her husband's house (after she is married) is equal to the boy's residence with the teacher; and the discharge of the household duties constitutes her daily worship.[8] Her husband should be everything to her. Through devotion and love for him, she fulfils her duty and develops her highest personality. Whatever be the qualities of the husband with whom she is lawfully united, such qualities she assumes, like a river united with the sea. Akshmala, a woman of the lowest birth, united with the sage Vasishta, and Sarangi, united with the sage Madanpala, became worthy of honour. These and other women of lower birth have attained eminence by following their husband's good qualities.[9]

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[7] IX. 18.

[8] II 67.

[9] IX. 21—24.

When a woman observes the sanctity of her marriage, serves her husband, and attends to the household duties, she is entitled to equality in study and worship with her husband. Without her no sacrament is valid. If a wife obeys her husband, she will, for that reason, be exalted in heaven.[10]

Woman has a duty in the social order, the arduous task of motherhood. That is her natural function, her inalienable right. To be mothers were women created, and to be fathers men; religious rites are therefore ordained in the Vedas to be performed by the husband with the wife.[11] To deny her that right is to deny her the legitimate joy of creation. If she seeks her own self-fulfilment, she will find it only through recognition of her duties of loyalty, service, comradeship in study and worship, and motherhood. This is her path of progress.

Biological aspects of marriage. A human being is endowed with biological needs which will brook no suppression. A social order that does not provide for the natural needs of its members is doomed to failure. The life

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[10] V. 155.
[11] IX. 96.

of spiritual pursuits, which is yet to come in the last stage of life, requires by way of preparation a sublimation of desire in the earlier stages. The life of an ascetic, given to serious meditation and contemplation, is an arduous task, and its success depends upon the consistency of the individual's early life. A life of balked desires is not in conformity with Manu's ideal; it develops a person who hides in his heart a lingering desire for the denied pleasures of sex and wealth. The individual should, therefore, be given an opportunity for satisfaction of his desires. Marriage, family, and wealth, if properly used, are not antagonistic to the development of the highest personality. The candidate for spiritual realization should pass through this phase of life.

Eight forms of marriage. There are eight forms of marriage: the Brahma, the Daiva, the Arsha, the Prajapatya, the Asura, the Gandharva, the Raksha, and the Paisaka. The marriage of a daughter to a man learned in the Vedas and selected by the parents is Brahma marriage; to a priest is Daiva marriage; to a bridegroom who shall fulfil the Law is Arsha; given with a blessing by the father is Prajapatya marriage. The remaining four marriages are based on pecuniary

considerations, choice by the husband, conquest, and helplessness of the bride.[12] The first four are "blameless", holy marriages, and have no reprehensible element involved in them to detract from their moral significance. The last four are "blameable" marriages, and should be avoided. The first four, in which the element of desire is controlled, and which are based on the intellectual and moral competence of the parties concerned, help not only the progress of the couple but also of their ancestors and descendants. The children born within such sacred wedlock will be great souls. (III. 37-39). But from the remaining four blameable marriages are born children that are cruel, that speak untruth, and hate the Vedas and the sacred law.[13]

Manu would thus try to eliminate all that goes by the name of "romance". He would put marriage on a purely intellectual and moral basis. Sex there certainly is, but it should not usurp the place of intelligence. Marriage should be arranged by parents. One should marry first and then love, and not "love" and then marry. That would not be real love, it would be desire, and desire should

[12] III. 27-34.

[13] III. 41.

be subordinated as much as possible. By such a marriage man would evolve virtues which otherwise would not find a place in his life: (IX. 89).

Eugenics. Manu advises endogamy, that is marriage in the group of the same status. Such marriages will attract souls of similar nature, and there will be no confusion of groups. There obtains the law of reincarnation, according to which a soul takes birth in a family that supplies him with the necessary psychic elements and environment that will further his evolution. A child of harmonious nature, for instance, is born in a family of brahmans, and so on. A child born of parents of the same group will be like his parents. But when there is a difference in the origin of the groups of the parents, the child will be like one parent or the other.[14]

Manu is averse to indiscriminate amalgamation of the Aryan and the non-Aryan

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[14] X. 5-6. It will be recalled that Manu's classification of human personalities is based on psychological differences. The brahman is a man of harmonious and intellectual nature, the warrior is the active type of individual, and the vaishya is a man of desire. It is in the light of these psychological differences that the above statement concerning endogamous marriage should be taken.

groups. The twice-born men who marry women of the sudra group in their folly soon degrade their families and their children to the state of a sudra.[15] A brahman who takes a sudra wife to bed will sink into hell after death; if he begets a child, he will not be of the brahman type. Gods, ancestors, or guests will accept no offerings from a man married to a sudra wife. There is no expiation for the man who kisses a sudra woman, is tainted by her breath, and begets a son by her.[16]

The sudra should bide his time, attend to his duties of serving the higher groups, develop moral virtues and prove his worthiness of being taken into the higher ranks. As the sudra fulfils the task assigned to him in life, there will be a psychological change in him, and he will be born in a higher group in his next life.

Manu, however, seems to have realised that the two races could not live wholly apart from each other. There was bound to be some amount of race-mixture. This he permits, with certain reservations. The first marriage of members of the twice-born groups must always be with a woman of their own group. But those who,

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[15] III. 15.
[16] III. 17-19.

through desire, wish to marry again, must follow a certain fixed order.[17]

Manu gives detailed instructions with regard to the selection of a wife. A girl coming from a family where there is no male child, and where the Vedas are not studied, should not be accepted in marriage. Nor should one marry a red-haired girl, one with too much hair, a quarrelsome, sickly woman, or one that bears inauspicious names. One should marry a girl who is free from physical defects, who has an agreeable name, is graceful of gait like a swan or an elephant, has a moderate quantity of hair on the body and on her head, small teeth and soft limbs.[18]

These are Manu's views on eugenics. They combine physical, ethical and metaphysical considerations. The element of desire in marriage should be controlled. Marriage should take place in families of the same social and spiritual status. Racial amalgamation, unless sanctioned by evidence of moral advance on the part of the stranger, should be avoided. Precautions should be taken with regard to the physical health of the marrying couple.

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17 III. 12.
18 III. 7-10.

Ethical basis of marriage. The whole subject of marriage is put on an ethical basis. Marriage should be treated as a sacrament. In it, two complementary halves are brought together to make a complete whole. The union is psychic rather than physical. The husband is born of the wife in his child. The three become psychically intertwined.[19]

This psychic union cannot be easily repudiated. There is no way of escaping its sanctity, barring a few exceptional circumstances, once the bond has been forged. Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband. Such is the law. Once is the partition of inherited property made; once is a maiden given in marriage; once does a man says, "I will give". These three acts are done once only.[20] Mutual fidelty should continue until death; this may be considered the sum and substance of the highest law for the husband and wife.[21] A man receives his wife from the gods, he is linked with her from the past, and he must honour her and protect her. This is his duty.[22]

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[19] IX. 8.

[20] IX. 6—447.

[21] IX. 101.

[22] IX. 95.

Love for each other and acceptance of mutual obligations of service is real loyalty. Such comrades will not be rent asunder either in life or in death. They will help each other's spiritual progress in or out of the body. Though destitute of virtue, pleasure-seeking, devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be worshipped by a faithful wife as a god. No sacrifice, no vow, no fast can be performed by woman without her husband. If she obeys him, she fulfils her part and will be exalted in heaven. A wife that wants to be with her husband even in death should never displease him;[23] she who controls her thoughts, words and deeds, does not disgrace her husband, will live with him even in death.[24]

Widowhood. In case of her husband's death, the wife should keep her fidelity by a pure life, by meditation and prayer for his onward progress into the realm of the Beyond. Until her death, she should be patient, self-controlled, chaste, and fulfil the duties prescribed for her as though her husband were living. Thousands of individuals lived celibate lives from their youth and went to heaven without marriage

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[23] V. 154—56.

[24] V. 165.

or off-spring. A wife who remains pure after the death of her husband will reach him in heaven, even if she has no children.[25] A widow should honour the memory of her husband by a pure life. She should not have illicit relations with another man. That is yielding to desire. Fidelity is the main virtue of widowhood as of married life. A woman who, from desire to have off-spring, violates her duty toward her deceased husband brings disgrace on herself. Offspring begotten of another man, or of another man's wife, is unlawful. Nor is a second husband, necessary for a virtuous woman. She who forsakes her husband because he belongs to a lower group, and has relations with a man of a higher group, is a contemptible woman. By violating her duty towards her husband she lowers herself to the animal stage.[26]

However, should a childless widow desire to have a child, she should be allowed to beget one from a relative of her husband by special permission. A brother-in-law or another relative of her dead husband should be selected to approach her. He should come clean, remain

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[25] V. 158—60.
[26] V. 161—64.

silent, give her only one child. One child is enough, according to law, though some sages are prepared to allow two. But when the purpose of the meeting such as this is over, these two should behave towards each other as a father and daughter-in-law. If they deviate from this rule and act under the impulse of carnal desire, they should both be considered dishonorable people, as persons who defile the bed of a daughter-in-law or of a teacher.[27]

Thus, three facts stand out quite prominently in the whole discussion of marriage widowhood, and child-begetting. Firstly, we should accept the presence of desire. It is a part of human nature. But it must be transmuted. Secondly, marriage should be based on intelligence, not on impulse. A man knowing the Vedas is best entitled to marry. When married, he must exercise self-control. He should not allow his passions to dominate him. Thirdly, when the wife is dead, the husband should live like a bachelor. If desire persists, he should marry from a lower group. In the case of the woman, she should remain pure and controlled. But if desire persists, she

[27] IX. 59—63.

should be allowed to beget a child or two in the manner indicated above, and nothing more.[28]

II. FAMILY

Family, the first primary group. As Manu presents it, the family is the most significant of all social groups. Marriage should culminate in a family. The child is the central figure of this institution. Both parents see a summation of themselves in a child. He only is a perfect man who consists of three persons—his wife, himself, and his child.[29] The consti-

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[28] After considering marriage as a highly ethical institution, Manu states, at great length, the grounds on which a legal dissolution is allowed. These grounds are summarised in Manu's words here : A husband should live with his wife for one year even if she hates him. After that they must part. She who disrespects her husband, is passionate, drinks, is of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, should be superseded by another wife. On the other hand, a woman should not be compelled to live with a mad husband, a mentally defective man, a eunuch, one destitute of manly strength, or one afflicited with diseases. She should be allowed to separate from such a husband after receiving her share of property. (IX. 77-80).

Further, a husband should live with a barren wife or with one whose children die, for ten or eleven years, but must separate from a quarrelsome wife immediately. A sick wife, kind to her husband and virtuous in conduct, may separate if she desires. She should never be disgraced. (IX. 81-82).

[29] IX. 45.

tuent unit of social life, therefore, is not the individual, but the trinity of the father, the mother, and the child. The family is not merely a legal institution but has its basis in human nature itself.

The family forms the earliest environment of the child, his first training ground in life. The family is the first primary group. It moulds the behaviour of the growing child and sets its stamp on him permanently. Whether the child shall grow up to be a social menace or a well-adjusted individual, looking forward with joy to the adventure of a rich life, with all his faculties functioning fully, is determined by the family.

The family is the support of all other groups, the student, the teacher, the hermit, the political group and the forest dweller.

Besides, one can discharge his duties to the entire social order only through the medium of the family. Each individual takes certain obligations before he enters the family stage. As a student, he was supported by other families when he went round begging food for himself and his teacher. Later, as a hermit, and still later as the forest-dweller, he will have to be supported by the group. In these last two stages, he will be of no material

use to the community. He will be concerned with his own spiritual pursuits. Thus the family stage of his life is the only one in which he can pay back what he has taken from the group and accumulate what he has yet to take in the later part of his life. This is the ethical significance of the family. These two aspects of the institution, the educational and the ethical, will be discussed separately.

Educational significance of the family. The birth of the first-born child frees a man of his obligations to the race. That child should be given the property. He is the child of duty. All the rest are the children of desire.[30] The bearing of children, their nurture, the daily life of man, the performance of the sacred duties, conjugal happiness, the spiritual evolution of the ancestors and of oneself, all these depend on the family.[31] The prolonged infancy of the child, with the necessity of continued parental care, is one basis of the family. Father, mother, and child are nature's "practical syllogism".

Further the family is the chief agency of transmission of the social heritage. The child

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[30] IX. 106-7.
[31] IX. 27-28.

watches and imitates his parents in his early years, and thus his life is moulded for ever. It is here that he develops social attitudes of love, friendship, and altruism. The noblest virtues of the human race grow in the hot-house of the family. The educative influence of the mother during the early years is incalculable. She is the first teacher of the child. The teacher of the Vedas is ten times more venerable than an ordinary teacher, a father a hundred times more than the teacher, but a mother a thousand times more than the father.[32]

The father and the mother transmit to the child the social ideals and values. The process of transmission of social heritage and the formation of the growing personality of the child are only continued further in the educational institution under the guidance of the teacher.

Ethical significance of the family. But there is also an ethical significance of the family. It should be useful in advancing the spiritual progress of the living members as well as of the dead. It should help the former to realise their highest personalities and the latter to carry on their evolution on the other side of life.

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[32] II. 145.

With these values in view, Manu devises five sacred duties or sacrifices. A family has five sacrificial-houses, as it were, in its household. These are the hearth, the grinding stone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, and the water-vessel. By using these five objects, human beings sacrifice the lower forms of life for their own and incur "sin". Some small invisible creatures are burnt in the fire when it is lighted for cooking food; some are killed in grinding things; others in sweeping the floor; and others still in drinking water. To all these human beings owe debts.[33]

Five debts. Thus, the householder does not live unto himself. He has duties to all beings whom he uses for his own existence, and these must be discharged properly. It is a sign of human culture and compassion to acknowledge these obligations and make amends in the following manner:

(1) By studying and teaching the Vedas which is an offering to Brahma, the Creator. (2) By giving food and water, which is an offering to the ancestors. (3) By pouring oblations in the fire, which is an offering to the gods. (4) By giving food to animals, the sick, and

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[33] III. 63.

the needy, which is an offering to nature's elements. (5) And finally, by offering hospitality to guests and to begging students, which is an offering to humanity. He who discharges these five duties, while he is able to perform them, is not affected by the above-mentioned "five sins", even though he lives the life of the householder. But if he neglects them, he incurs the sin of undischarged duties.[34]

A family should daily keep in touch with the Vedas and perform the sacrifices due to the gods. Thus it will help both the moveable and the immovable creation.[35] The sages, the gods, the ancestors, the elements, and humanity, all expect service from the family. Hence a family that knows the Dharma should discharge its duties to them all. The sages are worshipped by the study of the Vedas, the gods by oblations in fire, the ancestors by post-mortem ceremonies, the elements by food given to the bird, the beast, the sick and the needy, and humanity by hospitality.[36]

Thus the family is something more than a casual meeting-ground of its members. They

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[34] III. 69-72.

[35] III. 75.

[36] III. 80-81.

are linked to each other by ties of the past, and will be linked in the endless future. Fulfilment of mutual duties is the unifying bond of the family.

Significance of the five duties. Let us look a little closer at the rationale of the duties imposed on the family. The first duty is to the sages who gave the Vedas and have left behind them a rich heritage of spiritual wisdom. It is incumbent on the family to keep in touch with their teachings and pass them on to the rising generation. The family must keep up the level of culture so laboriously acquired, and at the same time transmit it to the safe keeping of the next generation. This is the family's duty to Brahma, the Creator, to the sages, and to the human race. By attending to this first duty is it possible for each member to develop his highest personality.

The second duty of the family is to the Gods, (the Devas), the invisible agencies that evolve alongside the man. To them, the family must offer oblations by putting clarified butter in the fire. This is the food of the Gods. It is the Homa sacrifice performed for their sake.

The third duty is to the ancestors (the pitris). Those who gave the physical body and also the early nurture deserve our gratitude.

They should not be forgotten because they are dead. Their sacred memory should be kept alive by ceremonies at regular intervals, and they should be helped by meditation and prayer in their onward evolution. These ceremonies should be conducted with the help of the priests who know the laws of the super-physical worlds. These ceremonies should be performed for the mother and the father (if they are dead), the grandfather, and the great-grandfather of the family. Manu goes into the subject of these ceremonies at great length and devotes a major part of the third chapter to its discussion.

The fourth duty is to nature's elements (the bhutas), those other invisible agencies that help the lower forms of life to grow. These lower forms are consumed by man as food; consequently, gratitude to these agencies should take the form of offering food, placed on the ground in all directions, intended for the bird and the beast, the sick and the poor. (III. 92).

And finally, comes the duty to humanity. This is discharged by offering hospitality to guests, to the houseless, and to the begging student. (III. 94).

These are the five sacred duties by means of which the family becomes a highly useful

institution in the social order and also to the lower forms of creation. The members of a family should learn to realize the oneness of all and to do their share to keep the wheel of life moving. Thus alone can they prepare a better future for themselves and save the institution from forces of disorganisation. In the discharge of duties is the source of the solidarity and moral strength of the family.

III. The Economic Group

The chief characteristic of the economic group is desire. Desire is the unifying factor between the family and the economic group. Manu does not enter into hair-splitting arguments concerning the instinct for private property. The sense of possession is a manifestation of desire. A human being can never remain satisfied if his desire is thwarted in any form. Moreover, the maintenance of the family institution is not possible without some economic resources. If the family is as significant as it is made out to be, its economic solidarity must be rigorously maintained. The whole social life is dependent on the family. All the other groups derive their support from this institution. The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these constitute

four separate groups. But they all depend on the householder for their support.[37] As all living creatures subsist by receiving cosmic energy (prana), even so the four social groups subsist on the support of the householder.[38] In accordance with the Vedas, the householder is declared to be the superior of all the four group, for he supports the other three. As all rivers flow into the sea, so men of all other groups find protection with the householder.[39]

It is therefore essential that there should be some earning members in the family. Economic resources serve a two-fold purpose: they satisfy the *desire* of the individual, and they help to keep the family institution inact.

Professions allowed. The male member of the family must take up some occupation and become an economic personality (a member of the vaishya varna). The vaishya should study the Vedas, discharge the sacred duties, give in charity, carry on commerce, banking and agriculture and tend cattle.[40] He should know the respective values of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metal, of cloth made from thread,

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37 VI. 87.
38 III. 77.
39 VI. 89-90.
40 I. 90.

of perfumes, of condiments. He must be acquainted with the manner of sowing seeds, the comparative merits of soils, and know all the weights and measures. He should know how to discriminate between good and bad commodities, calculate profit and loss on products of various countries, the wages of servants, know various languages, the manner of preserving goods, and the rules of bargaining.[41]

Business ethics. Competition should be eliminated from life as much as possible. Competition is a law of the jungle, not of human society. The possessive instinct should not so blind a person that he does not mind inflicting pain on others in his mad lust for wealth. The occupations should be socially useful. A man should not take up work that militates against his own or the group's welfare, nor should the body be abused. Accumulation of wealth should not be a mania and thus defeat its own purpose.

Ethics cannot be divorced from business. A merchant should not, for the sake of his subsistence, follow evil ways. He should live a pure, straightforward, honest life of a brahman type.[42] A person who lives

[41] IX. 329-332.

[42] IV. 67-68.

unrighteously, acquires wealth by falsehood and by injuring others will never be happy. Unrighteousness may not produce immediate results, but it grinds slowly and disintegrates the very roots of the man. The offender himself may escape the evil consequences, but not his sons and grandsons. It overtakes all. Therefore, he should never turn his heart to unrighteousness even when he suffers as a result of his righteous conduct. The unrighteous will be speedily overthrown.[43]

He should seek a means of subsistence which causes as little pain to others as possible. He should earn his livelihood by irreproachable means which are prescribed for his group, without unduly fatiguing his body.[44]

A man engaged in agriculture should be kind to animals. They are a part of his equipment, a means of his livelihood. They too have life and should be kindly used. He should not use untrained, hungry, diseased or injured animals, nor those whose tails have been hurt. He should use broken-in, swift, beautiful beasts, and should not urge them with a goad.[45]

Duties. Study of the Vedas, purification and

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[43] IV. 11.

[44] IV. 170-73.

[45] IV. 2-3.

meditation, non-injury to any beings, are the best means of happiness.[46] A vaishya should not neglect his study. A constant reminder of the purpose of life through study of the Vedas is his best protection. Nor should the fivefold duties, outlined above, be ever neglected by him, however pressing the demands of the daily life may be. He should study daily those subjects that promote his culture, teach him how to earn his livelihood and promote his interests in other walks of life, and further help him to understand the Vedas better.[47]

Finally, the man engaged in the toil of daily life, should learn to be content. Not jealousy of others' wealth, not competition in accumulation, but generosity in giving, in right charity, fair play and discharge of duties, are the best ways of his securing happiness. He must strive after a perfectly contented disposition and control over himself; for happiness has contentment for its root, and the root of unhappiness is discontent.[48]

And finally, he should honor each guest that visits his house, according to his means.

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[46] IV. 147-49. (IV. 14, 21).

[47] IV. 19-20.

[48] IV. 171.

He should offer the guest a seat, food, a couch, water, roots and fruits.[49]

In this way it is possible for a man engaged in the earning of his bread to secure personal progress and develop his highest self. A vaishya should not be immersed in things that do not count for his ultimate welfare. If he is his own friend, he should guard himself. He should keep a watch over his company, and he should not honour, even by a greeting, heretics, men who follow forbidden occupations in life, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians (arguing against the Vedas), and those who live like herons.[50]

Principles underlying charity. Charity is the duty of the vaishya. It is gracious for one to give when he has wealth. But he must guard against indiscriminate philanthropy. Wealth is not to be thrown away. The vaishya should judge the merits of the case and not allow himself to be misguided by one who pretends to a higher spiritual status than he has actually attained. A man who knows should not even give water to a brahman if he acts like a cat or a heron, and is not versed in the Vedas. Property earned by right means

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[49] IV. 12.

[50] IV. 29.

should not be wasted on such people. Both an ignorant giver and receiver, sink like a boat full of stones. A covetous man who displays the flag of virtue is a hypocrite, a deceiver, a detractor of others' merits, is like a cat; and one who has a cruel disposition, is bent only on gaining his ends, is dishonest and falsely gentle, is like a heron.[51]

Summary. This is a broad outline of the second institution of Manu. It is so arranged that a man may find it possible to develop his highest personality when a member of it. There should be no balked desires, no suppressions. Wife, child, property, all these should be allowed to an individual so that his *desire* is fulfilled. He should not enter into conflict with the group on the ground of having been denied legitimate satisfaction of his inborn impulses.

But in return he should "play the game", and discharge the duties imposed on him. Group life is not one of rights alone. Insistence on rights concentrates attention on the individual and ignores the group; whereas exclusive insistence on duties, the claims of the group, denies the spiritual integrity of the individual. The two

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[51] IV. 192-196.

are not antagonistic to each other. They must be co-ordinated into a whole. That should be the purpose of each institution.

The institution is only a means. It is intended to help the individual. Earthly life is short. The relentless wheel of births and deaths moves on. The individual can only get out of life what he puts into it. A life of righteous living, with giving as its guiding principle, is the surest guarantee for happiness here as well as hereafter. Giving no pain to any creature, a man may slowly accumulate spiritual merit like an ant that makes its hill. This merit alone will accompany him into the next world. To this Land of the Beyond, neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor relations, nor friends accompany. Spiritual merit alone goes with him there. Alone is each person born, and alone does he die. Alone does he reap the effects of the causes he has set in motion (karma). When he is dead, his relatives leave him like a log of wood or a clod of earth. His spiritual merit alone remains. Let him therefore accumulate merit so that it accompanies him into that Land of Gloom that is difficult to traverse alone.[52]

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[52] IV. 233-42.

When this second quarter of life draws to a close, when the "five debts have been paid", when grey hair make their appearance, and when grand-children are born, the man should retire and prepare for his return journey to Brahma from Whom he came. He should hand over everything to his son and dwell in the household in an entirely detached manner. Alone he may meditate in the sanctuary of his soul. This is the way in which a householder should henceforth live. If he conducts himself thus, he will reach the Most High.[53]

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[53] IV. 257-260.

CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTION

THE first two stages of the individual's life are over. Now begins the third, the stage of action or civic service. It is the life of semi-retirement or hermitage.

The group corresponding to this third stage is that of the warriors (kshatriyas), men of action. This group specialises in developing strength, being ever ready to serve the state in all departments of its life, protecting it from external danger and internal disorder and injustice.

Plan of the chapter. We take up the discussion of the individual and the group separately. The hermit is discussed first, and then follows the warrior group. In the latter discussion is given a broad outline of the state dealt with at some length in the Code. We shall not be concerned, however, with the various points of law that would interest

a student of comparative jurisprudence but only with the state as such.

The state, according to Manu, is composed of three constituent elements: the physical, the political, and the spiritual. The physical comprises population and territory. The political comprises the government, the agency by means of which the state expresses and enforces its general will. This government is composed of the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature, with powers clearly separated between these three departments. We shall discuss here also the division of the powers between the central and the local units of government. The third element of the state is the spiritual. It pertains to its independence of all outside control, " the permanent, exclusive, unified, all-comprehensive and imprescriptible sovereignty ". The soul of the people must be free. Their state must have freedom to carry on relations with other states on terms of equality, and be able to declare peace or war. To complete the discussion, some attention will also be devoted to the functions of the state.

The material is presented, therefore, according to the following outline:

I. *Ashrama.* (Vanaprasta) Hermit.

II. *Varna.* (Kshatriya) Warrior group.

III. The State.
- A. Physical basis: territory and population.
- B. Political basis.
  - (1) The executive.
  - (2) The judiciary.
  - (3) The legislature.
  - (4) Local government.
- C. Spiritual basis:
  - (1) Sovereignty.
  - (2) Foreign relations.
- D. Functions of the state.

I. The Hermit

The individual now comes to the period during which he should give active service to his country. The marks of age have begun to appear; he has grand-children born to him. It is time for him to retire from the field of daily life, and devote himself to spiritual pursuits. His path of development now lies in withdrawal from the world.[1] But if he is not prepared to leave his family entirely or is by temperament an active type of individual, he may stay where he is and serve the group in a detached manner.[2]

[1] VI. 1-2
[2] VI. 95.

Action at this stage is different from that engaged in during family life. The motive behind the latter was *desire*, here it is *service* of others.

Two types of action. Action is of two kinds. One kind finds expression in the objective universe; it is concerned with the world of things and men. The other is subjective, it is concerned with thought. The man may select either type of action. He may retire into the forest, and by meditation and prayer send out a continuous stream of good-will to his fellow-men; or he may live in the family and participate in the civic affairs without any motive of personal gain. These two types of action are the same. The energising motive behind them is the social welfare.

This stage of hermitage is psychologically significant. The life of complete retirement, which is yet to come, will demand a more exacting discipline. It will involve the strain of yoga, and the individual should be prepared for it gradually. Also, the mind, immersed in desire so far, should be slowly weaned away from worldly pursuits. Conversion is an unusual phenomenon, but slowly getting used to the life of spiritual endeavour is at all times possible.

There is also a practical justification for semi-retirement. Manu wants this fairly advanced man, who has had everything in life, to retire so as to eliminate competition from the group. Old men sticking to their jobs till death removes them are an obstacle to the younger generation. At the same time, to take a man suddenly into the forest is to deprive society of the valuable experience he has gained. He must, therefore, be in the world, though not of it.

It is a man of this type who may be invited to take part in the political affairs of the nation. A man of stable character, full of affection for the family in the preceding stage, is bound to serve the cause of the national welfare well. He will not work for personal gain but exert himself for the social well-being, and his guidance is bound to be useful. His inner vision will be far better than that of any number of inexperienced laity.

When he has discharged his duties to the sages and the ancestors and others according to the prescribed law, he should hand over everything to his son and dwell in the household in an entirely detached manner. Alone he may meditate in the sanctuary of his soul. This is the way in which he should live. If

he conducts himself thus, he will reach the Most High.[3]

Should he retire into the forest, he may build himself a small hut. He should go on daily with his meditation and study. His food should be simple, mostly of fruits and roots, his garments inexpensive. He must learn to control his mind and emotions and get used to the hardships of a simple life. He should be friendly to all, liberal in giving what little he has, and be compassionate to all the creatures of the wild (VI. 7-32). Simplicity, study, meditation and good-will toward the world should be the characteristics of the man at this stage. He should prepare for complete withdrawal in search of the Self, and for the journey into the Beyond that awaits him.

II. THE WARRIOR GROUP

The warrior group (kshatriya varna) corresponds to the hermit stage. The word kshatriya should be understood to refer to the group of people that is concerned with the administration of the state. This word has generally been translated as the fighting class, but that is not Manu's idea. A kshatriya is one who

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[3] IV. 257—260.

is devoted to the political life of the group, whether it be in the civil government or in the army. His duties are the protection of the people, charity, sacrifice, study of the Vedas, and non-attachment to objects of the senses.[4]

Thus the spirit of service, efficiency which comes out of study and personal discipline, and freedom from corrupting influences of office, should be the dominant characteristics of him who would shoulder the responsible task of protecting and serving the people. A kshatriya should be guided by these principles in life. He should be like the hermit, but only engaged in the active life of politics. He should be ready to lay down his life, if need be, in the service of the group. This is his duty and the path of personal progress.

III. The State

A. PHYSICAL BASIS

We now come to the discussion of the state as conceived by Manu. The first constituent element of the state, as already remarked, is the *physical.* The king should settle in a country which is open and has a dry climate,

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[4] 1. 89.

where grain is abundant, which is inhabited by Aryans, is not subject to epidemics, is pleasant, where vassals are obedient, and where the people can find their livelihood.[5] These constitute the physical basis of the state.

B. POLITICAL BASIS

The second element of the state is the government, the agency for the expression of the collective will. It is composed of three parts, the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature.

1. THE EXECUTIVE

a. The king. The executive should be composed of three parts: the head of the state, who may be a king or a president; the cabinet; and the civil service. The king has the divine right to rule. Manu subscribes to "the divine right of king's" theory. But his emphasis is on the *divinity*, not on the right. This is different from "the right divine to rule wrongly", as an English historian has put it. The ruler should be considered divine and he should so carry himself. The Lord created a king for the protection of all, taking eternal particles of Indra, of Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of

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[5] VIII. 69.

Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth. Because a king has been formed of the particles of these Gods, he excels in power. Sunlike, he dazzles all eyes and minds, and none on earth may dare to gaze at him. Even a boy-king should not be treated as a mortal. He is a God in a mortal body.[6] He in whose favour reside the Gods of fortune and victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the lustre of the Gods.[7]

Duties of the king. This is a metaphorical way of saying that the ruler should be a philosopher-statesman. It only is a righteous ruler who is divine. He is not an idol to be worshipped; there must be something worthy to be worshipped in himself.

He should emulate the energetic action of Indra, of the Sun, of the Wind, of Yama, of Varuna, of the Moon, of Fire, and of the Earth.[8] He should study the Vedas, serve the brahmans and the aged, be humble in demeanour, study the science of government, of dialectics, and of the inner life, endeavour to control his senses, give up hunting, gambling, over-sleeping, censoriousness, relations with women, wine and dancing.

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[6] VII. 3—8.

[7] VII. 11.

[8] IX. 303-312.

Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slander, seizure of the property of the people, reviling, and assault, he should always avoid. All these are harmful to a king. Between vice and death, the latter is more preferable. A vicious man creates hell for himself; a man free from vice goes to heaven. [9]

The ruler should subject himself to strict self-discipline so that he may be given the vision to carry on the nation's affairs. He should be spiritually regenerated every day by meditation and study of the Vedas so that the performance of his duties becomes easier.

King subject to the Rule of Law (Dharma). In spite of independence and authority, the king should consider himself as subject to the rule of Law (Dharma), which no earthly monarch dare ignore. Dharma rules monarchs and men alike. The king's mace of power is only a reflection of the Dharma-Danda, the Rod of Divine Power. [10] For the king's sake, the Lord sent forth his Son, the Dharma-Danda, the Rod of Power, the protector of the people, an incarnation of Law, formed of His own glory. This

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9 VII. 37-52.

10 Translation of Dharma-Danda as punishment is grotesque and misleading. Dharma is Law, and Danda is the Rod. Dharma-Danda is the Rod of Law.

Dharma is the real king, the male. All others are females, subordinate to it. It is the pledge of the four orders, it protects all, watches over them while they sleep. Gods, men, and beasts are all ruled by Dharma.[11]

The political sovereign. In addition to the authority of the Dharma, which may be considered analogous to the Constitution of a modern state, the king is subject to the political sovereign. He should not forget the fact that he derives his authority from the people. He is limited in the exercise of his powers by the capacity of his people to obey. A king who oppresses his people will lose his life and his kingdom. As by torment the lives of living creatures perish, so perishes the life of the king who oppresses his subjects.[12]

Manu thus recognises the political sovereignty of the people to a certain extent. The subjects have a right to be protected, and the king must never transgress the bounds of his authority. Loyalty to the ruler is due only when he discharges his duty of protecting the people; a king who governs well easily prospers.[13]

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[11] VII. 14—24.

[12] VII. 111—112.

[13] VII. 113.

It will thus be seen that the promotion of public welfare and happiness is possible when the ruler is a philosopher, considers himself as subject to a Higher Law, applies himself diligently to his royal duties, acknowledges the sovereignty of the people, bows to their wishes and guards their welfare. The king is not above this Law, and the relations between him and his subjects should be reciprocal.[14] He has been created to protect the individuals and the groups, to help every one in his own path of progress and the discharge of his duties.

Daily routine of the king. A wise ruler should have a regular schedule of daily routine. It should be somewhat on the following lines.[15]

Morning.

1. Bath, meditation, study and worship.
2. Justice.
3. Counsel with ministers.
4. Consultation with ambassadors and spies about the external affairs of the state.
5. Consultation with the Commander-in-Chief about military affairs.

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[14] VII. 35.

[15] VII. 145—226.

Afternoon and night.

1. Exercise, bath, rest, home affairs.
3. Inspection of the army and war implements.
3. Evening prayers.
4. Consultation with the secret service department.
5. Music and retirement to rest.

Manu is not thus advocating a theocracy, as a student of political science understands this term to-day. The king should be a divine being, but that is different from making him the head of religion, which is the primary condition of theocracy. To be sure, the brahmans are attached to the cabinet, to the judiciary, and to the legislature, as we shall see presently, but the king rules. *Federalism* is Manu's conception of the political organisation of the state, as he advocates it in social life. His ruler is very much the same as the president of a modern republic, with the added qualification that he should be spiritually enlightened.

b. The Cabinet. The second part of the executivê branch of government is the cabinet. The king should have assistants to help him to rule; he cannot carry on the work of administering the state alone. To govern a state without the co-operation of honest and loyal

ministers is an impossible task. Dharma cannot be administered without the help of assistants. (VII. 30). The king should have a cabinet composed of seven or eight ministers selected from well-tried families, well-versed in sciences, heroes skilled in the use of arms, and descended from noble families. They should be in charge of war and peace, of the revenues, the police, and of public works. The king should consult them together in the cabinet sessions and decide upon a course of action. The most important minister in the cabinet should be a brahman. He should be entrusted with the official business of the cabinet.[16] Thus the cabinet should be a small, compact body composed of men who can guide the nation's affairs justly.

c. *The Civil Service.* The third part of the executive is the civil service. It is composed of officials who are concerned with the execution of the government's orders. They should be men of integrity, wise, firm, honest enough to collect the taxes of the state, well-tried. They should be skilful, clever, alert, brave, high-born, and honest.[17] The number of such officials should vary with the requirements of the state.

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[16] VII. 54—59.
[17] VII. 60—63.

It is one of the essential conditions of good government that these civil servants, the subordinates in the administration, should be free from all corrupting influences of office. They can become fools and rob the people. Against such servants, the king should beware. He should confiscate their whole property and banish them from his kingdom.[18] The king should personally visit the different parts of his state by turns, and also keep a close watch on his subordinate officials by means of spies.[19]

This completes the executive branch of the state: a king devoted to the service of the people; a cabinet composed of a small number of ministers from good families, well tried in the service of the state, and presided over by a brahman; and finally, an honest, skilful civil service, above all reproach. In this manner, the state should be governed. The work of such an executive is bound to contribute to the welfare of the people.

2. The Judiciary

The Judges. The second department of the government is the judiciary—a branch of administration that protects the individual

[18] VII. 123—24.

[19] VII. 122.

liberties and upholds the Law, both spiritual and secular. The king, as the head of the judicial system, should appoint a brahman well-versed in Law who should assist him in the administration of justice. That brahman, together with three other brahmans, constitutes the full bench.[20]

The judges should have knowledge of what we might call "legal psychology". Having dressed himself in a befitting manner and having prayed to the God of Justice, the judge may begin the trial with a collected mind. He should know the expedient and the inexpedient, pure justice and injustice. He should discover by external signs the internal disposition of men. Voice, colour, motion, eyes and gait, gesture and speech, change in eyes and face, are all indices of the working of the inner mind. A judge ought to understand and interpret all these physical phenomena.[21]

Tabulation of law-suits. The topics which give rise to law-suits can be tabulated under eighteen headings: non-payment of taxes, deposit and pledge, sale without ownership, partnership, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-compliance of agreements, recission

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[20] VIII. 9—11.

[21] VIII 23—26.

of sale and purchase, dispute between master and servant, dispute regarding boundaries, assault, defamation, theft, robbery, violence, adultery, dispute between husband and wife, inheritance, gambling and betting. All litigation must fall under one of these categories.[22]

The whole of the ninth chapter of the Code is devoted to a consideration of these eighteen topics, a critical examination of which would, perhaps, interest a student of comparative jurisprudence. It may be remarked, however, that the provisions in the Code have formed the basis of the Hindu law which governs Hindu society even to-day.

The state should never instigate litigation; on the other hand, it should never suppress investigation into a crime (VII. 43). Justice is one of the chief functions of the state. When justice, wounded by injustice, approaches, and the judges do not extract the dart, they become partners in the crime.[23] Where justice is destroyed by injustice, and truth by falsehood, the judges shall be destroyed. Justice being violated, destroys; when preserved, it protects. Therefore, justice should not be

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22 VIII 4—7.

23 VIII. 12.

violated, lest violated justice should destroy the foundations of social life. Divine justice is a Bull, and he who destroys It is an enemy of the Gods, he is a sudra. The only friend that accompanies man after death is justice. All else is lost when the body decays.[24]

Relativity of crime and punishment. Manu maintains that in all matters of justice, the various factors entering into the situation should be taken into consideration. A social situation is a focal point of many rays, visible and invisible. Time, place, circumstances, the evolution of the individual who commits the crime—these and other factors should be duly considered. A crime must not be judged on the basis of *a priori* legal assumptions.[25]

The first punishment should be a warning; the second, public censure; the third, a fine; the fourth, corporal punishment. If none of these avail separately, they should be combined.[26]

Where a common individual should be fined a trifle, the king should be fined a thousand-fold. In the case of theft, a sudra should pay eight-fold, a vaishya twice as much, a kshatriya

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[24] VIII. 14—17.

[25] VII. 16.

[26] VIII. 129—30.

twice as much as the Vaishya, and a brahman twice as much that of the kshatriya, or even four times as much.[27]

Punishment must, thus, depend on the psychological make-up of the individual. The higher he is in the scale of evolution, the more he must realise his responsibility. Equality before the law is a myth. There is no equality anywhere in nature, and there should be gradations in punishment also. It is only fair that the brahman, who is a model for men of the world to follow, should pay heavily for his crime. Relativity is the law of social life.

And finally, the criminal should be restored to his social status. Punishment should not be a vengeance wreaked by society. After the criminal has served his sentence, he should be considered as having been purged of the crime.[28] The society must forgive him, as also the infant, the aged, and the sick. They who are proud of their virtue and will not forgive will sink.[29] Judgment should be tempered with mercy and condemnation with kindness.

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27 VIII. 336—38.

28 VIII. 318.

29 VIII. 312—313.

3. The Legislature

The third branch of government is the legislature, the law-making body. Its purpose is to interpret the Law, and initiate new legislation (XII 108).

Composition. It should be composed of wise men who have studied the Vedas and commentaries, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by reason in support of their arguments.[30]

Manu goes into the composition of the legislature at length. He would limit the number to ten. The basis of its composition should be intelligence, not numbers. Concerted and quick action is possible in small, compact bodies. Democracy is only "idolatory of numbers". Three persons, each knowing one Veda, an interpreter, a reciter of the Mimamsa, of Nirukta, and of the Dharma-Shastra, and three men from the three leading professions, are enough to constitute a legal assembly.[31] But if such ten men are not available, three should be enough; and if three who can satisfy these conditions cannot be had, one who knows and can interpret the Vedas will do. Even he is

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[30] XII. 108—109.

[31] XII. 111.

better than myriads of ignorant masses.[32] He is assuredly more competent to formulate national policies than a thousand brahmans who have not fulfilled their duties and subsist only by their name.[33]

Sources of Law. There are four sources of law. The Vedas are the first, next comes the Law Treatises (Dharma-Shastras), third is the custom of the holy men, and finally comes the conscience.[34] In modern terminology, they would correspond with Constitutional Law, Legislative enactments, Precedent, and Equity. All points of legal dispute should be viewed in relation to these four sources.

4. Local Government

A state should be divided into smaller units of administration. A top-heavy, centralised administration is neither convenient nor desirable. The state must reach out to every isolated corner within its territory through some agency. There should be an officer at the head of one village, ten villages, twenty villages, one hundred and one thousand villages. Each officer should supervise those below him. The salaries of

[32] XII. 112—113.

[33] XII. 114—115.

[34] XI. 16: 12.

these officers should vary with their positions.[35] A large state is allowable only when the small units are well looked after.

Taxation. Taxes should be moderate. They should be so arranged that both the state and the citizens receive their due share of the good. They should press lightly on the people. Just as a leech, a calf, and a bee suck their food very lightly, so must the state levy its taxes.[36]

There should be a graduated and flexible scale of taxation. Taxes must be levied in kind so that the state gets a good share when the people are prosperous, and its taxes do not press heavily when there is a depression all around. A fifteenth part of increment on stock and gold may be taken by the state, and a sixth, eighth, and twelfth part of the crops. The state may take a sixth part of the trees, meat, honey, butter, perfumes, herbs, flavour foods, flowers, fruits and roots, grass, cane-material, skins, earthen-wares, and stone articles.[37] Mechanics and manual workers should give one day of their service to the state during each month. The state should not undermine its own

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35 VII. 115—119.

36 VII. 128—29; 137.

37 VII. 130—32.

foundations and also of its people by excessive taxation.[38]

There are other sources of revenue for the state. These are customs and export duties (VIII. 398-400), state highways (VIII. 404-406), and mines, manufactures and store-houses (VII. 62).

C. Spiritual Basis

1. Sovereignty. We have discussed the physical and the political basis of the state. We now come to the third aspect, the *spiritual*, symbolised by independence of all external control. A state is not sovereign if its international status is one of vassalage. No citizen in a subordinate country can aspire to his highest possibilities. His personality must be dwarfed, and the "tallest must bend so that the exigencies of administration may be served". Happiness in such a state is a chimera. The progress of a group, as of an individual, depends entirely on self-control and self-government. All "other control" is misery. All dependence on others brings pain, all self-dependence gives happiness. This is the brief definition of pain and pleasure.[39]

All dependence on another nation for protection and "maintenance of order" is misery. If a

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38 VII. 138—39.

39 IV. 160.

people want to be happy, national independence and state sovereignty are indispensable. No state when attacked by foes, be they equal in strength, stronger or weaker, must shrink from fighting, remembering its duty (protection of the people). Not to turn back in battle, to honour wisdom, are the best means of securing happiness. When kings fight with all their might in a righteous cause like this, they go to heaven.[40] Sovereignty must be maintained no matter what the price may be.

2. *Foreign Relations.* The subject of international relations may be studied under two headings: peace and war. Under the latter Manu discusses such subjects as alliances, military tactics, attack, division of forces, retreat, offensive, and strategy (VII. 160-177; 180-197).

The subject of foreign policies is divided into four parts. These are conciliation, gifts, division and rule, and all the three together; but not fighting, if it can be avoided.[41]

War. War is permissible when the sovereignty of a state is threatened by another: in other matters it should be avoided. A state should first try the three means of conciliation just stated. For when two states fight, victory in battle

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[40] VII. 87—89.

[41] VII. 198.

is uncertain, as experience shows. The state should, therefore, avoid engagements. Only when these three expedients have been tried and found unsuccessful may resort be had to fighting to settle the issue.[42]

But even when the war is on, the parties should try again the three-fold means of coming to some understanding. If they still fail, the events should be allowed to run their course, and the issue will have to be settled by force.[43]

Fighting should never be carried on surreptitiously. It should be an open affair. When a king fights his foes in battle, he should not strike with weapons concealed, nor with barbed and poisonous weapons, nor with such as have points blazing with fire. He should not strike those standing on eminences, eunuchs, those who suppliantly appeal for mercy, those who flee, nor those who sleep, those who have lost their coats of arms, nor those who are naked, disarmed, neutral, nor those who are fighting with his enemy, nor those whose weapons are broken, nor those who are seriously wounded. In all cases, he must remember the duty of an honourable warrior.[44]

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[42] VII. 199—200.

[43] VII. 107—108.

[44] VII. 90—94.

When victory has been gained, the vanquished should be assured of protection, peace, and safety. The victor should worship the Gods and honour the wise men of the vanquished party, grant exemptions from penalties, and give promise of protection. He should ascertain the views of the people, and appoint one of his relatives as their ruler. He should accept their customs and honour the new king and his ministers.[45]

Peace. With regard to peace time relations, the states should exchange ambassadors and maintain diplomatic relations.

The ambassador should be an observant person, a keen student of human psychology. He should understand hints, expressions of the face, gestures. He should be honest, skilful and of noble family.[46] He should be loyal, possessing a good memory, good personality, be fearless and eloquent, one who knows the proper time and place for action. The army depends on the commander-in-chief; protection of the subjects on the army; treasury and government on the king; peace and war on the ambassador.[47] The ambassador alone makes

[45] VII. 201—203.
[46] VII. 63.
[47] VII. 64—65.

the king's allies and separates them. He has the keys of peace and war in his hands.[48] He should keep in touch with the confidential advisers of the king to whose territory he is deputed. He should discover their secret designs through their subordinates.[49]

The state must keep a close watch on international affairs and maintain a balance of power as far as possible. The state should carefully watch the doings of its neighbours, of those that aspire for conquest, of neutrals, and of enemies. It should always contemplate the balance of power among the twelve states within the circle of its neighbourhood, and it should try various expedients with them.[50] An ally, though a weak one, is preferable to wealth. By gaining gold and land a state does not become so strong as by obtaining a firm friend, who, though weak, may become powerful in the future. A weak friend is commended, if he is righteous, grateful, whose people are contented, and who is persevering in the service of his subjects.[51]

To summarise. A righteous war in defence of

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48 VII. 66.

49 VII. 67.

50 VII. 155—159.

51 VII. 208—209.

the sovereignty of the state is allowed. But it should be an honourable game. In case of victory, the conquered should be assured of protection. In times of peace, the state should preserve friendly relations with its neighbours, exchange ambassadors, maintain a balance of power, and secure allies in preference to land or wealth.

D. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

We now come to the functions of the state. The two main duties of the state, preservation of peace at home and freedom from external control, have been outlined. But there are some other duties which the state should discharge for its people. Some of the legislation recommended by Manu would seem almost socialistic to a student of modern political science. For instance, he would have the state control prices (VIII. 401-403). In case of conflicts between various groups the state should fill the role of umpire. The state should settle disputes between guilds and families (VIII. 41), it should compel the merchant to attend to his trade, banking, agriculture, and stock-raising, and the worker to the manual duties for the other three groups.[52] For, if these groups swerved

[52] VII. 410.

from their duties, they would throw the whole social order into chaos. The state must endeavour to stop class war and to keep every person in his proper place, taking good care that all causes of grievances are fairly redressed.

Further the state should endow education. The teacher and those that have completed their studies should be taken care of. Support given to them is the richest treasure for the state. Thieves cannot steal it. Encouragement given to the brahmans cannot be lost. A gift to a brahman who knows the Vedas will produce good without end.[53] The state should levy no taxes from them. The teachers are the custodians of knowledge, and they should be encouraged to spread it abroad.

A pregnant woman, a hermit, an ascetic, and a brahman who is a student of the Vedas, should not be charged ferry taxes.[54] And finally, the state should protect the property of the minor till he has completed his studies or attained his majority. Similarly, it should take care of the childless woman, of the widow, and of the sick woman. Those who misappropriate property of women should be punished like thieves. Property, the owner

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53 VIII. 82—85.

54 VIII. 407.

of which has disappeared, should be kept in deposit by the state and returned to the owner if he returns within three years, after due examination and proof of his identity.[55] A blind man, an idiot, a cripple, an old man in the service of a brahman, should not be made to pay taxes.[56]

The state must punish those who take bribes, who are cheats and rogues, gamblers, sanctimonious hypocrites, fortune-tellers, officials and physicians who act wrongly, and harlots. These persons and others who behave like non-Aryans should be considered as thorns in the body of the state.[57] A person in urgent need, an aged man, a pregnant woman, or a child, should be only reprimanded for offences and asked to do some menial work. Physicians who treat their patients wrongly should be made to pay fines.[58]

Summary. This completes our brief outline of Manu's conception of the political institution. A state where politicians work disinterestedly and are invited into public affairs; where avails the illuminative wisdom

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[55] VIII. 27—31.

[56] VIII. 394—395.

[57] IX. 257—260.

[58] IX. 282—284.

of an enlightened king whose life is dedicated to the service of his people; where an efficient and loyal cabinet, a competent and incorruptible civil service, an intelligent judiciary, and a compact, small legislature composed of experts bent upon serving the highest ends, are available; where taxes are low, flexible, and levied judiciously; where education is free; where teachers are carried across the country freely on missions of enlightenment; where the poor, the sick, the homeless, the widow, and the helpless minor, are well taken care of; where a decentralised form of government prevails; where internal order is accompanied by external independence, the two facets of state sovereignty; where social federalism, based on the duties of various groups, is accompanied by political federalism, based on the separation of governmental powers into various departments; there "the Gods live". In such a state is the attainment of the highest personality possible. Here alone can a man seek his highest self and attain spiritual progress.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

WHEN the third quarter of life is over, the individual should leave all, give up even the civic service, and retire into the forest in quest of Brahma and final liberation.

The first three stages were lived in the midst of the group life. The individual lived in the full activity of social life, carrying on the process of ceaseless communication with the life around him. The three aspects of his life—intellect, desire, and action—found their fulfilment there.

But the last stage should be lived in the forest, away from the din of daily life or from contact with the society. It should be devoted to preparation for liberation. It is the stage of complete retirement (the sanyasa ashrama).

It is not intended that religion should be reserved for the last and uncertain days of life. Indeed, the first three stages are permeated by

religion, if by religion is meant a way of life. Religion, according to Manu, is not a creed, but conduct; it is righteous behaviour. Throughout the Code, Manu has been concerned with stating the fundamental principles in accordance with which life should be lived if attainment of the highest personality is the ideal. The stage of retirement to the forest is only an extension of the first three stages. It is a culmination of the art of living. It provides an opportunity for getting "in tune with the Infinite", an adjustment to reality within oneself, a realization of the one spirit animating all creation. It is a transition to the world Beyond, where the bonds of karma tie no more the man to the phenomenal universe.

Retirement into the forest does not mean a life of ease. It only ensures comparative freedom from the conflicting stimuli of daily life. Search for inner values is easier in the lap of mother nature than in the bustle of the outer world. The quest of the eternal is best accomplished in a state of comparative withdrawal from the pressing demands of daily life.[1]

But it is essential that the candidate for liberation should have lived a complete life before

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[1] VI. 33.

he takes up the arduous task of meditation and contemplation. Asceticism is not a stunt of self-denial or personal torture so often associated with the monks of the mediæval ages in monasteries in Europe, or with some of the fakirs of India to-day. A person who has had no practical training in control of his thought, desire, and action, who has not studied the Vedas that give a proper appraisal of the values of life, who has not had satisfaction of the desires during family life, who has not been able to give some sort of service to the group, is bound to turn into a neurotic personality and prove a pathological phenomenon. That would be the psychological effect of suppression.

The moral effect of neglecting the first three stages of preparation would be still greater. Duty is a debt to be paid back to the group in some form or other, in one life or another. All action binds. By living in the world, a man incurs obligations which he must discharge as a member of the first three institutions. Disregard of these duties makes him only a parasite. It ties him to the wheel of birth and death with the steel bonds of karma from which he must loosen himself if freedom he would attain. It is only after living the life prescribed by the Vedas, getting

progeny, and fulfilling the sacred duties, that a man can seek liberation in the fourth stage. Without this, he sinks.[2]

I. The Forest-Dweller

Let us look at the life of the forest-dweller in some detail. He should depart from the home fully purified, silent, alone, with a vow to befriend all creation. He should have no possessions. He should beg his food from the village. Firm in purpose, simple in garments, without a desire to live or to die, meditating, he should abide his time till death takes him away. His speech should be pure, his heart pure, he should insult none, nor should he be angry with anybody ; he should return a blessing for a curse. Unto such an ascetic comes spiritual radiance.[3]

Signs and symbols have no meaning for him. He should have no possessions excepting a gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen dish, or one made from cane. He should beg his food only once a day after people have finished eating. He should not be sorry if he gets nothing, nor be over-joyed if something comes his way. But he must get nothing by

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[2] VI. 34—38.

[3] VI. 39—48.

demeaning salutations. He should eat little, live in solitude, meditate, control his senses, rise above all pairs of opposites, above love and hate, and injure none. Thus alone will he be fit for immortality.[4]

Yoga. The dominant note of this last stage of life is yoga. Yoga is applied psychology. It is the process of relaxing mental and emotional rigidities. By means of yoga practice the forest-dweller will be able to yoke his smaller self to the larger Self, the Brahma, the Creator. He should abstain from injury, should practise truthfulness, forgiveness, continence, abstain from greed, be clean, contented, self-controlled, studious.[5] These should be the rules of his conduct.

Delighting in what concerns the deepest problems of life, he should sit in an easy posture and eliminate all sense contacts.[6] His breath should be controlled in the three-fold manner prescribed by the science of yoga, and meditation should be accompanied by the word Aum. Proper breathing burns away all impurities of the body as a furnace burns up all the impurities of raw ores. It helps to charge

[4] VI. 50-60.

[5] VI. 91—93.

[6] VI. 49.

the entire organism with vital energies and to remove the heaviness, the torpor that characterises the majority of mankind. It helps to concentrate attention, restrain the senses, and control the mind which runs faster than a race-horse or even the wind. He should make an effort to stop this mad career of the mind and channelise its activities. Thus will he realise the possibilities of progress through meditation. It will help to release him from the bondage of karma that causes continued births and deaths. By these practices it is possible for him to develop to his highest possibilities even in his present life.[7]

Subjects for meditation. The ascetic must meditate on the causes of constant births and deaths into this vale of tears, on the invisible bonds of karma that tie him with friends and foes, on age and disease, on the wanderings of life through myriads of forms, on the causes of pain, on liberation, on the subtle nature of the self, its presence in all forms, high as well as low.[8] Thus meditating, he may cast off his outworn garment. This bodily structure is composed of five elements, supported by bony beams, held together by tendons, with blood

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[7] XI. 70—75.

[8] VI. 61—65.

and flesh as its mortar, plastered with what we call skin, foul smelling, full of filth, infested with old age and sorrow, the seat of disease, pain, and passion, perishable. This Yogic preparation should enable him to leave it as a bird leaves its nest, ready to fly having worked off the causes that called him to the earth.[9]

This completes the last stage of life. Yoga quickens an otherwise extremely tardy process of the development of his personality. It enables one to marshal all his mental energies, wayward and scattered as they otherwise are, and focus them on one point, which is self-search, self-realisation. Religion is thus a scheme of life, not a theology. It is an achievement, not mere belief. There is emphasis on self-discipline, not on doctrine. This is the path of progress outlined by Manu for man. If an individual lives the life herein outlined and thus recognises the Self through the self in all created beings, and becomes equal-minded towards all he enters the highest state of Brahma. A twice-born who lives according to these Institutes, outlined by Manu, will be virtuous in conduct, and will reach Brahma.[10]

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[9] VI. 76—79.

[10] XII. 125—126.

II. The Brahman Group

The brahman group corresponds to the forest-dweller. The one has achieved wisdom, the other is in search of it. The discussion of this group has been outlined in Chapter V, pp. 100-111.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL PROGRESS

IN the preceding chapters, the four main social institutions, the educational, the family-economic, the political, and the religious, have been described. These institutions are based on the Vedic conception of human nature. They all embody a two-fold purpose : the liberation of the human faculties leading to the development of the highest personality and a progressively advancing social order. An effort will now be made to pick up the various threads of Manu's thought, and present a coherent picture of his conception of social progress.[1]

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[1] Owing to insufficient acquaintance with the essentials of Hindu thought, several occidental writers on this subject have assured that the Hindus had not developed the concept of social progress ; that they were given to facile fatalism, bred into their minds by the doctrines of karma and reincarnation. An effort is here made for the first time, to the best of the writer's knowledge, to present the Hindu concept of social progress ; and it is hoped that a perusal of the following pages will prove to the reader the unsoundness of the above-mentioned assumption.

Progress and evolution. Progress, according to Manu, should be distinguished from evolution or change. Evolution is a change in any direction; it is cosmic and continuous; it is a more inclusive term than progress, and its standard of reference is not necessarily man. Progress implies change in a *desired* direction; it is not continuous, it is a subordinate category, more limited than evolution in its scope, and its standard of reference is man.

The first chapter of the Code from verse 1 to 109, is devoted entirely to an analysis of the evolutionary process, the origin of the universe, of life, matter, and the elements. But from this cosmic setting we descend to earth. Manu limits his field of investigation, and focuses his attention on human beings and their welfare alone. The evolutionary process of the universe, the theory of education, the science of sacraments, marriage, family, the five-fold sacred duties, rules with regard to food, the position of women, the hermitage, retirement, and final liberation, duties of the king, the warriors, the merchants, and the sudras, the causes of birth and death (reincarnation), the law of action and reaction (karma), these form the subject of our discussion of the Code.[1] We are thus

[1] I. 110—119.

concerned with human behaviour and human happiness.

Manu's Code is "Manava-Dharma-Shastra", devoted to the study of social relations between beings endowed with minds (manavas). Evolution deals with the processes of organic change, the creation of the universe. It is cosmogensis. But progress is related only to human beings. The standard of reference, and the unit of investigation, is man, his behaviour, and his happiness.

2. *Valuation.* The second concept connected with social progress is valuation. Evolution, defined as change, is a neutral category; but progress, which is change in human destiny, implies valuation. It is not mere variation. It is improvement, not mere movement. Evolutionary change may result in progress, or it may not. There are possibilities of retrogression as well as progression. But conscious change implies a reaching out towards some end or ends. It is the antithesis of a static condition. It is a process, not an achievement; it is a becoming, not a being.

Human progress must have a goal. All telic effort must posit ends. The values that Manu has in view for the individual as well as the group are the securing of happiness, of increas-

ing knowledge, fame, long life, and the attainment of final liberation. He deals with the various phases of life, with the types of individual behaviour and with the duties of the various groups towards each other. A twice-born individual must always live up to this standard. Good life is the surest way to happiness and progress.[2] Human welfare, increased wisdom, long life, liberation, these are the ends towards which the social theory of Manu aims and in terms of which social progress must be interpreted.

3. *Control.* The third idea connected with social progress is control. Social progress implies purposeful action and control. Without control there is no progress, nor any guarantee of its continuance. Man becomes subject to the vagaries of an external will.

AGENTS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

The agents for controlling social progress are the organisation of the individual's life with a view to giving full, free, and ordered play to his inborn faculties (ashrama-dharma), and a co-operative mutual relationship between the various groups constituting the social order

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[2] II. 106—110.

(varna-dharma). We shall review these two mechanisms of social progress separately.

1. Manu maintains that the educational theory must recognise that the student is not a "disembodied intelligence". He must be thought of as a whole. Education must attend to his complete nature. In addition to the training of his mental faculties, the controlling of his actions, and the sublimation of his desires, it must awaken his creative faculties and make him realise that he is the architect of his own destiny. Education should not be a mere accumulation of ill-digested facts, but a real "educing", a leading out of the hidden potentialities of the student. It should be a "second birth". We can not lay emphasis on heredity or environment alone, nor on both together. To be sure, there is animal equipment with the child. But he is a soul, weighted by karma, with large possibilities, bound to life and death, but endowed with a will of his own. He cannot be entirely moulded by his environment. To help him to override his limitations of the past, to transmute his biological equipment, to give him a glimpse into his own possibilities, is the task with which education should be concerned. It should re-make human nature. To attain these ends the student should be

initiated into the practice of yoga which helps to clear away the obstacles clouding the divinity of the soul. Human will and endeavour are the means of progress. To blame everything on environment or on heredity and thus negate all human responsibility and volition is facile fatalism. Human values are attained by exertion.

Both these ends, the reshaping of human nature and awakening of the inner possibilities of the student, are best secured by meditation. Meditation provides an appeal to the inner self as a force in the formation of character. Meditation at regular intervals, morning, noon and evening, will help to build up a set of habits that will release the energies into higher and nobler channels and train the student to act from within rather than from without. He will thus learn to think of himself as a part of a larger life, having kinship with all that lives above, around and below him. Such attitudes, built during the plastic period of childhood, constitute the best safe-guard against selfishness or arrogance in later life.

Character is not mere "moral behaviour", or conformity to the folk-ways and the mores. It is the blossoming forth of the inner man, it is synthetic vision that sees Brahma in all. This is a matter of experience, not of

ratiocination. Meditation is the only way to gaining such experience and outlook on life.

Emphasis should be laid on unity rather than on the diversities which engender social conflict. Social progress is a chimera while the individual is trained to think in terms of the law of the jungle. Human beings should seek a different basis of associated life than that of the animals. That basis should be unselfishness, service, and goodwill to all. If this principle is ignored, education can only help to produce "articulate animals", who will be ready to prostitute their powers of intellect in exploitation of their ignorant fellowmen. It is by training in this unity of life that the student will be able to pierce through the steel armour of race prejudice and see Brahma in himself and the sudra as well.

Education should train the growing child in a spirit of reverence. Reverence for the teacher who knows, reverence for the parents who gave the body and early nurture, reverence for the state that shoulders the heavy responsibility of protecting life and property and making the goods of the world available for use, reverence for the aged even of the lower caste; these are the outward marks of the inward grace. The student must learn how to look above as well as

below. Equality is not the law of nature. The future citizen should be trained in habits of simplicity, study, and service. He should be brought up in an atmosphere of purity so that when marriage comes it is looked upon as a sacrament and a spiritual adventure.

This type of education is possible only when we have what we might call the "foster-parent" system of education. The student should live with the teacher in his house for the whole period of education. This will eliminate the conflicting claims of environment on his personality and help to produce a consistent character.

The success of this type of education lies in the hands of the teacher. Indeed, the whole structure hinges upon him. The teacher, no less than the student, must be a man of simple wants, studious habits, given to a life of spiritual travail. His life must be one of laborious search for the mysteries of nature and of Self in the sanctuary of his heart. Poverty alone can assure him of liberty of thought and action. His few wants must be supplied by the students. To pass on the spiritual heritage, to enrich it by personal exertion and investigation, to minister to the sacred ceremonies of the families as a priest, to protect the law of the land, to serve

the state in the executive, the legislative and the judicial departments, in short to hold up before the world an ideal life dedicated to righteousness and justice—these should be the functions of the brahman, the wise man of the group. He must mingle with the "maddening mob" and not live apart in splendid isolation. He should be truthful in thought, word and deed. Profession and practice should be one in him. He should not grasp but give. The fruits of his spiritual research should belong to all.

2. Man must have a chance to satisfy the needs of his biological organism. No progress is possible if the members of a society are forced into a life of celibacy. Repressed desires corrupt the foundations of life. Progress is impossible without the members of society having a normal life. Marriage and family are as sacred as any other function of life.

Marriage should be treated as a sacrament. It should draw the two incompletes together into a spiritual whole, where the adventure of spiritual search becomes the uniting bond. Not infatuation at first sight, but a desire to create compatibility should be the ideal. Animal desire should be subordinated to the demands of the higher self.

Woman should not be a slave but a comrade.

There should be partnership in work and worship. The tie of marriage should be considered indissoluble in life or death. The best, and ethical, marriage, according to Manu, is monogamous.

Marriage should find its crowning culmination in the birth of a child. As long as the social heritage has to be transmitted to succeeding generations, the woman must perform her natural function of maternity. That is her contribution to life, it is her genuine creation. She should not be dragged into economic competition with man. Her dharma lies in her home, the nurture of the children, co-operation in the spiritual duties and service of the family.

To have a child is a duty, but this is not paying homage to numbers. The first child is a child of duty, others of passion. One child is enough for the discharge of duty to the race. He is also the cementing bond of marriage. Family begins with the birth of a baby. Family should be a partnership "between the living and the dead". The five "debts" can be discharged only when there is a family. The family must, therefore, remain intact. It should be saved from all disorganizing forces. It is the best repository of the social heritage and the most efficient agency for transmitting

it to the next generation. Therefore, the child should live with his parents till the eighth year of his life. To take him away as soon as he is born to the house of the teacher or to the public nursery, as Plato recommended, would be to rob the family of the legitimate joy of bringing up the child, to affect seriously the basis of the institution life, and to turn out children by pattern. That would be tantamount to spiritual murder, a sin against the Holy Ghost. A child can best develop his inborn capacities under the parental roof. He should be sent to the teacher's house at the age of eight. Here meditation and study will bo his best protection from a deadening uniformity.

3. The family also is a transition. Man must not stop here. The purpose of life is self-fulfilment. The joys of family life must also be renounced. Man does not live by bread alone. He must now interpose a certain amount of social distance between himself and the group life. A partial withdrawal should facilitate complete retirement.

4. Man must carry forward his quest of the Infinite in the forest. This complete retirement is the best means of gaining self-realization. This is not a life of negation, but of fulfilment. It is not an escape into nothingness.

Meditation and self-discipline are processes of developing the highest type of personality.

II. Social Organisation

So much with regard to the individual phase of progress. We now come to its collective phase, or the inter-relationship of the groups among themselves (varna-dharma). Social progress depends on the rational ordering of the social life. There is no hope of its realization while the various groups are torn by internecine warfare. Social progress is the result of harmonious social relations. Manu's principles of social organization may be stated briefly.

The whole society should be divided into three main groups, men of thought, men of action, and men of desire (brahmans, kshatriyas, and vaishyas). The fourth should consist of the sudras, the manual workers.

The logical outcome of this should be the differentiation of their functions. Men of thought should attain and give wisdom; men of action should protect; men of desire should distribute the means of sustenance; and the last should serve the other three.

The compensations or prizes of life should also be differentiated. Each group should be given one thing, and it should remain satisfied

with it. The brahman should be given honour; the warrior power and authority; the merchant wealth; and the sudra the privilege of personal association with the other groups so as to imitate their example.

Finally, the means of livelihood of each group should be clearly separated. The brahman should live on charity and support from his students and families. The warrior and the state official should live on taxes and fixed salaries. Those engaged in commerce, banking, and agriculture, should be allowed to amass and retain wealth as trustees of the nation. Lastly, the sudra should be given food and support by those whom he serves, or he should be allowed to pursue those mechanical arts that help him to support himself and his family.

This, in substance, is Manu's Varna Dharma—social organisation. It is based on a theory of checks and balances. There is no equality of status and emolument. Everybody has a claim to equality of opportunity, but he should be rewarded according to his usefulness to the group and also according to his personal capacities. If inequalities in human nature are not recognized and faced squarely, social progress will be impossible. Society must allow for moral and psychological differences in

human beings. In planning human society, man should use mind, intelligence. Social progress is insured when social conflicts are eliminated.

This is the purpose of the varna-ashrama-dharma of Manu. It is a mechanism for controlling social progress. Progress below the human realm just happens; in the human realm it must be willed. All undertakings in this world depend on the working of fate, the process of evolution, and on human exertion. The ways of the former are unfathomable, but to the latter all is possible.[3]

INDICES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

It may now be asked, What, according to Manu, are the indices of social progress? How can we know whether society is progressing or retrogressing? Is there any tangible evidence by which to judge or measure progress?

It must be said at once that Manu's view of social progress is not materialistic, biological, institutionalistic, or ideological. His critieria are not tangible or measureable. His social theory is not based on natural sciences. Consequently, no objective methods of measurement of social progress are available here.

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[3] VIII. 205.

Manu does not belong exclusively to the materialistic school, as he does not subscribe to the view that the physical conditions or general topography of a country are the sole determiners of the group's destiny. To lay emphasis on environment is analogous to accepting physical conditions as the sole determiners of the individual's behaviour. To be sure, good environment is favourable for the growing child, and so are physical conditions favourable for the progress of the group. But it is the group that moulds the environment. The whole story of civilisation is a record of man's efforts to change and control his environment.

Manu does not subscribe to the biological theory of progress as it is understood to-day. One race is not superior to another. One Life pervades the Aryan as well as the non-Aryan. There is no hint of racial superiority in Manu's Code. Nor does Manu accept the eugenist view. The eugenist might succeed in producing healthy material, but he must stop there. To be sure, the general health of the group is a great desideratum for social progress, but something more is needed. We need great souls, men with the highest personalities, philosophers, scientists, leaders, executives, poets, artists, mystics. It is the spiritually refined

parents that can invite such advanced egos to take birth in their families. The birth of such souls is outside the orbit of biological or eugenical stunts. Genuises are not lured by prudential pairings.

Nor is Manu an entire institutionalist. A complex of social institutions, such as, education, family, state, religion, we must undoubtedly have. But our chief concern should be their content and their quality. It is good to have wealth, for instance, but it makes a considerable difference who owns that wealth, and how he uses it. A large amount of wealth with an individual or a group, not utilised properly, may prove to be a curse instead of a blessing.

Finally, Manu is not altogether an idealogist, a theologian. A tacit acknowledgment of a divine plan already conceived is a denial of human will and exertion. Man is a co-worker with Brahma. He can change everything. A divine plan is partly man's making as well as God's. Manu is not a pure intellectualist in whose theory reason has a place of its own. The pursuits of the intellect without any relationship to life and its problems may produce good academic acrobats but nothing more. A mere accumulation of intellectual impediments may produce good dialecticians and logicians, talking phantoms but not men of realisation.

Thus far we have been concerned with what Manu's theory of social progress is *not*. We may now try to outline what it *is*. The indices of social progress are purely subjective and qualitative. To the extent that society recognises that man is not a machine; that he is a God in the making, born to blossom forth to the best of his potentialities; that he has a great past and an endless future (reincarnation), that his present fund of physical, emotional, and mental energies is the result of the past (karma); that he should be trained not to think in terms of personal interest as opposed to the group, but made to realise his unity with all, the living and the so-called non-living; that his inborn desires for sex, progeny and property are not to be thwarted; that he should receive an opportunity to fulfil his duties to his Creator, his ancestors, and the invisible agencies that sustain this earthly life; that it enlists his disinterested services and experience in his ripe age and helps him to pursue his spiritual quest; to the extent the society can accomplish these things for the individual, it may be said to be progressing. It is the internal change in the individual, guided consciously by society, towards the attainment of spiritual ends, that constitutes progress. Increase of material things and means for advancing physical

comforts—the transciencies of life—are not real indices of progress. In fact, progress can take place in spite of them or without them. A constantly increasing number of philosophers, scientists, executives, leaders of men, poets, mystics, and artists, who have realised this spiritual unity and who are dedicated to the service of the group in the light of this vision, is the unfailing index of social progress.

On the other hand, to the extent the members of the group are divided into distinct parts on the basis of personal capacities and efficiency, their functions, compensations and means of sustenance separated so that all possibilities of discontent and conflict are eliminated; to the extent that the sudras, the once-born individuals, are assimilated, and the possibilities of spiritual, mental, moral, and physical advancement are opened out to the meanest of the members; to the extent that the merchants fulfil their duties of distributing the nations' resources without greed, that the rulers are philosopher-statesmen, and the teachers men of vision, humble and independent; to the extent that each group lives within its own bounds and is content with its own share and does not fight with others for what does not justly belong to it; to the extent that this federalism obtains in

the social life may that group be said to be progressing.

This is the view of social progress which Manu has endeavoured to secure by means of his varna-ashrama-dharma, the "United States of Social Federalism", the practical art of social life for men with minds, "manavas".

APPENDIX

THE question of determining the chronology of Sanskrit literature has engaged the attention of many scholars both in the East and in the West. Many archæologists and orientalists have studied this subject in a very critical and scientific manner, and have recorded their conclusions in numerous publications that are available to us to-day. Most of the occidental writers have unfortunately laboured under the false deductions drawn by Archbishop Ussher from his study of the Jewish chronicles. According to Ussher, at one time Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, the world was created in 4004 B.C. and the Deluge took place in 2349 B. C. The influence of Ussher's conclusions is easily visible in the writings of later oriental scholars, such as Sir William Jones and Charles Wilkins; and it became stereotyped in the writings of later authors by subsequent pronouncements of Max Muller. It was impossible for Max Muller, brought up in the theological atmosphere of Oxford, to believe that the Aryans could have come to India earlier than 2,000 B.C., and though he

realised that it was impossible to tell how far back the national and religious Vedic period extends, yet he fixed it at "1100 or 1200 B.C., as the earliest time when we may suppose the collection of the Vedic hymns to have been finished". So strongly was he inclined to this view that he at one time doubted "whether the Veda is the oldest of the books, and whether some of the portions of the Old Testament may not be traced back to some even earlier date than the oldest hymns of the Vedas".

According to him, all the wealth of myths, allegories and symbols in the Vedic hymns refers to the early worship of nature by man. He says: "In the hymns of the Vedas, we see man left to himself to solve the riddle of the world. He is awakened from darkness and slumber by the light of the sun". . . . and he calls it "his life, his truth, his brilliant Lord and Protector".[1] Man gives names to all the manifestations of nature. Fire is Agni, the sunlight is Indra, storms are Maruts, and the dawn Usha. All this indicates an infantile mentality, which is the characteristic of the Vedic period.

From this description it is an easy step to what he says in another place. "Do you still wonder at polytheism or at mythology? Why, they are inevitable. They are, if you like, a *parler enfantin* of religion. But the world has its childhood, and

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1 Muller, Max, *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. 1., p. 68, Longmans, Green.

when it was a child, it spake as a child, it understood as a child. . . The fault rests with us if we insist *on taking the language of children for the language of men.* The language of antiquity is the language of childhood. . . the *parler enfantin* in religion is not extinct. . . as, for instance, the religion of India ".[2] Max Muller was thus convinced that the Vedic period and the Vedas indicated the childhood of humanity, and that this was 1000 B.C., or 3000 years ago.

But this position can hardly be maintained to-day. We now know that man has lived on this planet for at least a million years. Max Muller and others of his school cannot explain why man should have remained stationary all this time and continued to have an infantile mind till only 3000 years ago! That he could suddenly emerge from this long period of darkness, develop arts, sciences, language, grammar, philosophy, all with the beginning of the Vedic period, is an entirely untenable position.

The names of the scholars who have taken part in this controversy is legion. The limits of space, however, do not permit a summarisation or analysis of their views in detail. But as against Max Muller's view, given above, we have that of Sri Aurobindo Gosh, India's great living philosopher and mystic. He attributes to the Vedas

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[2] Muller, Max *The Science of Religion*, p. 278, Longmans, Green.

a great antiquity and considers them to be precursors of the mysteries of ancient Greece. He says: "The hypothesis I propose is that the Rigveda is itself the one considerable document that remains to us from the early period of human thought of which the historical Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries were the failing remnants, when the spiritual and the psychological knowledge of the race was concealed, for reasons now difficult to determine, in a veil of concrete and material figures and symbols which protected the sense from the profane and revealed it to the initiated. One of the leading principles of the mystics was the sacredness and secrecy of self-knowledge and the true knowledge of the Gods. This wisdom was, they thought, unfit for, perhaps even dangerous, to the ordinary human mind, or in any case liable to perversion and misuse and loss of virtue if revealed to vulgar and unpurified spirits. Hence they favoured the existence of an outer worship effective but imperfect for the profane, and an inner discipline for the initiate, and clothed their language in words and images which had equally a spiritual sense for the elect and a concrete sense for the mass of ordinary worshippers. The Vedic hymns were conceived and constructed on these principles":[3] Sri Aurobindo takes the Gods of the hymns as symbols of the psycholcgical

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[3] Gosh, Aurobindo, *Arya*, Vol. 1, p. 60.

faculties of man. Agni is will, Surya is intelligence, and Soma is feeling.

But apart from this internal evidence, based on a *psychological* interpretation of the Vedic hymns, there are other points of view dealing with the chronology of the Vedas.

Tilak, for instance, has put the Vedic age at 4000 B.C. He bases the chronology on *astronomical* references in the Vedas to the position of certain constellations. These give us a clue to the time when and where the Vedas were written.[4]

Professor Venkateswara of Mysore University argues for 11,000 B.C. and discusses the matter from *philological*, *ethnical* and *astronomical* standpoints. [5]

Professor A. C. Das, of Calcutta University, assigns 25,000 years to the Vedic period, and he takes his stand on *geological* investigations. He maintains that the general topography, climate, seasons, rivers, mountains, as given in the Rig Vedic hymns, are all corroborated by recent geological surveys of the Government of India. [6]

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[4] Tilak, B.G., *Orion, or Researches into the antiquity of the Vedas*; *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*; and *Vedic Chronology and Vedic Jotisha.*

[5] Venkateswara S. V. "Vedic Chronology: a case for 11,000 B.C." *The Aryan Path*, Vol. II, No. 4 (April, 1931) pp. 230-236.

[6] Das, A. C., *Rigvedic India*, Calcutta, 1927 pp. X, XI, 6-8, 12-14, 16-17.

But there is one more approach, the *archaeological* that throws some light on the antiquity of the Indian civilization. It is based on the discoveries in the Indus Valley at Harrapa in the Punjab and at Mohen-jo-dero in Sind. These discoveries have pushed back the Indian civilisation by 3000 years B.C.[7] But we have not reached the end of our conclusions as yet. As Professor Jayaswall, presiding over the annual Oriental Conference at Baroda, remarked :

"Indian matters recently come to light are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohan-jo Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic. And if this is established, the credit of the discovery will be that of an Indian scholar, namely, Dr. Pran Nath. Two years back, this was the conclusion already formed by Dr. Pran Nath. Since then, Mr. Piccoli ("Indian Antiquity", November, 1933) has pointed out the identity of our Indus signs with the

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[7] Marshall, Sir John, *Mohen-Jo-Dero and the Indus Civilisation*, Vols. 1-3. See also Waddel, L.A., *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*; *Egyptian Civilisation: Its Sumerian Origins*, Luzacs.

undeciphered signs found on ancient pottery and sepulchral remains in Etruria. M. Guillaume de Hevesy, in a paper published in the *Bulletin de l' Association Francaise des Amis de l' Orient* (Nos. 14-15. 1933, Paris, Musee Guimet) has shown that 52 Indus signs occur exactly in the same form on tablets recovered on Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. In India itself we have discovered a long inscription at Vikramkhol, in the district of Sambhalpur, the plates of which have been published by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in "The Indian Antiquary", 1933, at great cost, from copies and photographs taken by the authorities of the Patna Museum. This record seems to show a stage midway between the Indus script and Brahmi. It is inevitable that our views on the origin of ancient scripts be radically revised. This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very wide-spread and long-standing civilisation extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and Nort-Western India, Baluchistan, Sistan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terra-cottas found at Buxar and at Pataliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the 'Indus Civilisation' to the valley of the Indus alone. Possibilities of its discovery in the western coast-line of Kathiawad are promised by a passage in the Maha-Bharata

which mentions seals which were considered ancient and peculiar when the Maha-Bharata was compiled. The sands of Rajputana and certain sites in the Central Provinces may yet disclose similar evidence. There lies before us an immense task of sorting and collating the mass of material recovered and of deciphering the new documents." [8]

It is still a matter of controversy among scholars in this field whether these Sumerians were Aryans or belonged to a different ethnological stock, the Dravidian. Dr. Waddel, an eminent scholar, maintains that the Sumerians are Aryans and that their names can be identified in the Vedas and the Puranas. "About the many Vedic priests and kings whose historic personalities and in part bodily relics, seals and jewellery are thus recovered and identified, are 'Ausija' (Kakshivan), Kanwa, possibly Gautama Rishi himself, and certainly the slave girl 'Usij', the reputed consort of the latter in the Epic romance. Among the kings whose historic identities, dates and monuments are now recovered are—Haryaswa with his father and grandfather and his descendants of Panchala or Phoenecian dynasty, including especially Mudgala with his Indus Valley seal and famous stone maces (?), Badhryswa and Diva Daso, the Emperor of Sakuni or Sagara, the priest-king Gadhi,

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[8] Jayaswal, P. K., from his Presidential speech at the Oriental Conference at Baroda, as reported in *The Hindu*, Madras, December 27, 1933. p. 8.

Jamadhagni, Sushena and the truculent Parasurama ...They disclose the actual official signets and grave amulets of several of the most well-known Vedic seers and authors of Vedic hymns and of ancient kings and heroes whose very existence even is denied by European Sanskrit scholars, with the actual tombs of many of them containing their sacred dust. And with these are recovered for the first time the actual dates and reigns in which they lived four to five thousand years ago. We also recover through these identifications the authentic portraits of many of them from their contemporary seals and monuments portraying their features and dress. All educated Hindus will be glad to know the first-hand scientific proofs for the veracity of their Vedas and ancient epics (the Puranas) and to learn that their ancestral . . . Vedic kings and sages were famous historical emperors, kings and priest-kings in Mesopotamia with multitudinous monuments still existing there to the present day. It must also be gratifying to the modern Hindus to find that the Vedic and Epic tradition which their ancestors preserved and handed down through the centuries, and in which they have steadfastly believed, is now proved substantially true and has become a chief means of identifying as Aryans the Sumerians, the Phoenicians and the Britons".[8a] Historical evidences of Aryan contact with the

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[8A] Waddel, A. L., *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, Preface, XII-XIV, Luzacs, London, 1926.

nations in the Euphrates Valley in the subsequent centuries seem to point to the conclusion that the Sumerians were probably Aryans. If this should prove to be case, the dates of the Vedas will have to be pushed back several centuries, and a new interpretation will have to be given to the Vedas.

In the meantime, we might very briefly narrate the story of India's contract with the West since 1500 B.C., for the benefit of those to whom this subject is still new. Incidentally, this will tell us something of the influence of Hindu thought and particularly that of the Code of Manu on the thought of the West.

India and Asia Minor. In 1907, a German achæologist, Hugo Winckler, discovered an inscription of Boghozkoi which gives the peace treaty signed by two warring tribes in 1400 B.C. in Asia Minor. These tribes—the Hittites and the Mitanis—invoke the Vedic Gods, Mitra, Indra, Varuna, and the twin-gods, Ashvinis, the latter to bless the marriage alliance between the royal families.[9]

India and Persia. Further down, we find India in touch with Persia in 600 B.C. Many Indian philosophers, soldiers and scholars lived at the Persian Courts. "Darius had both Greeks and Indians as his subjects. Indian troops formed the light division of the army of Xerxes: they must

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[9] See *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. 1, Chapters 15-17.

have marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae, and their usefulness caused them to be retained by Mardonius after the retreat of the king, to take part in the Boetian campaign which ended so disastrously at the Asopus. Ionian officers in Persian employ, and probably Ionian traders, visited the Panjab. But with the gradual break-up of the Persian Empire, the practical independence of eastern Iran, and the war with Greece, the traffic between India and the west sank to practically nothing ".[10]

Professor Rawlinson has collected together a very large amount of material from various original sources dealing with India's contact with the western world. We shall bring together a few excerpts from his various chapters to present a connected story.

India and Greece. "To Skylax (circa 500 B.C), as far as we know, belongs the double distinction of having been the first Greek to visit India, and to make the Red Sea voyage. The latter feat was not repeated till the days of Eudoxus, three centuries later. The memoirs of Skylax have unfortunately perished, though they may have been utilised by Herodotus.[11]

"The Greeks, long before the annexation of the

[10] Rawlinson, H. G., *Intercourse between India and the Western World.* pp. 27-28. All quotations from this book are taken by special permission of the Cambridge University Press, London.

[11] Ibid pp. 17-18.

Panjab by Persia, appear to have heard, in a dim sort of way, of India. Homer speaks of two races of Ethiopians, the western, or African Ethiopians, and the eastern Ethiopians. The word Ethiopian is applied by Herodotus to the dark Dravidians of Southern India.

"The first writer, however, to mention India is the father of Greek geography, Hekataeus of Miletus, a contemporary of Skylax. In the fragments of his lost work, the *Periegesis*, eight Indian names occur—the Indus, the Indi, the city of Kaspapyrus, the country of the Gandarii, the Opiae and the Kalliatiae, the Skiapodes, and the city of Aragante. From his mention of Kaspapyrus, we may conclude that Hekataeus came to know of India through the narrative of Skylax. It is interesting to notice that the Greeks talked of the "Indus" and "Indians", whereas the inhabitants of the country itself spoke of "Sindhu", "Sindhava". Later travellers noticed this with surprise. "Indus incolis *Sindus* appellatus est", says Pliny, and the author of the *Sindus Periplus* says that the river is locally called *Sinthus.* The word reached Greece through Persia. In the same way, the oriental nations heard chiefly of the Greeks through the Ionian traders who had colonized the coasts of Asia Minor. The word for Greek in Hebrew and Sanskrit is *Yavana*, and *Yauna* in old Persian.[12]

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[12] Ibid. pp. 18-20.

"Herodotus, the first Greek writer about India whose account has survived, was born in 484 B. C. at Halikarnassus, not far from Karyanda, the home of Skylax, to whom he may owe not a little of his knowledge. He tells us that the Indians are the last of all the nations on the eastern side of the world; far beyond the Panjab lay the limitless Rajputana desert, the *Marusthali*, or place of death, stretching, as Herodotus thought, to the end of the world.[13]

"Herodotus also makes a very interesting reference to a religious sect who killed nothing that had life, lived on a grain like millet, and had no houses. It is impossible to help wondering whether we have not here a reference to the Buddhists. Gautama, it will be remembered, died in 488 B. C., four years before Herodotus was born.[14]

"Herodotus is the first writer to mention the famous legend of the Indian ants who watched over the gold which the Indians carried off in order to pay the tribute due to the Great King. It was said that this gold was guarded by gigantic ants, but the Indians, mounted on swift she-camels, plundered the gold at mid-day when the ants were asleep in their holes, and made off, hotly pursued.[15]

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[13] Ibid. p. 21.

[14] Ibid. p. 22.

[15] Ibid. p. 23.

"On the whole, the account given by Herodotus of the Indian satrapy is careful and accurate. It is no doubt drawn from the last narrative of Skylax, or from other first-hand evidence. He mentions, among other things, the extremes of heat and cold of the Panjab, the size of the animals and birds, the crocodiles in the Indus, the horses (which he considers inferior to the Median breed), and the excellent wild cotton, superior to sheep's wool, of which the Indians made their clothes. Besides the legend of the gold ants, one or two Indian fables have crept, through Persia, into his narrative. Thus the famous story of Hippokleides, who 'didn't care' when he danced away his wife, seems to have a close parallel in the *Jataka* story of the silly young Peacock, who danced so indecently that he shocked the father of the golden Goose, and lost his wealthy bride. The story of the wife of Intaphernes who pleaded for her brother's life, because she could get another son or husband, but not another brother, has been traced to the *Ucchanga Jataka.* The Hyperboreans, who play such a large part in contemporary Greek legend, are the Indian *Uttarakuru*, transferred rather pointlessly from their home in the holy Himalaya to Europe, where they are quite out of place.[16]

"The praise accorded to Herodotus for the admirable sobriety and truth of his remarks about

16 Ibid. p. 25.

India, cannot, unfortunately, be extended to Ktesias. . . . Ktesios settled in Greece and there wrote his *Indika*, fragments of which survive in the abridgement of Photius and in other writers. It is full of extravagant stories of monstrous people and strange animals, and adds practically nothing to our knowledge of India ".[17]

According to Max Muller, a Hindu brahman visited Athens at the time of Socrates. He says : " On the other hand, there seems to be some kind of evidence that an Indian philosopher had once visited Athens, and had som. personal intercourse with Socrates. That Pe᾽‹.ans came to Greece and that their sacred literature was known in Greece, we can gather from the fact that Zoroaster's name, as a teacher, was known perfectly well to Plato and Aristotle, and that in the third century B. C. Hermippus had made an analysis of the books of Zoroaster. This rests on the authority of Pliny. As northern India was under Persian sway, it is not impossible that not only Persians, but Indians also, came to Greece, and made there the acquaintance of Greek philosophers. There is certainly one passage which deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. Eusebius quotes a work on Platonic Philosophy by Aristocles, who states therein, on the authority of Aristoxenos, a pupil of Aristotle, that an Indian philosopher came to Athens, and

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17 Ibid. p. 26.

had discussions with Socrates. There is nothing in this to excite our suspicion, and what makes the statement of Aristoxenos more plausible is the observation itself which this Indian philosopher is said to have made to Socrates. For when Socrates had told him that his philosophy consisted in enquiries about the life of man, the Indian philosopher is said to have smiled and to have replied that no one could understand things human who did not first understand things divine. Now this is a remark so thoroughly Indian that it leaves the impression on my mind of being possibly genuine ".[18]

Resemblances between the philosophical systems of the ancient Hindus and the Greek thinkers abound. Professor Winternitz, for instance, remarks in his *Indian Literature and World Literature:* " Garbe, the greatest authority on Samkhya Philosophy in Europe, has made it very probable that Samkhya Philosophy has been of influence on the philosophical ideas of Heraklitos, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Demokritos and Epikuros ...It seems to me to be proved that Pythagoras was influenced by the Indian Samkhya. Nor have I any doubt that the Gnostic and Neo-Platonic philosophies have been influenced by Indian philosophical ideas ".

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[18] Muller, Max, *Theosophy, or the Psychological Religion*, pp. 83-84. Longmans, Green.

To be sure, there are many ideas in the philosophy of Pythagoras for which he seems to be indebted to India. His theory of reincarnation had its source in Indian thought. He did not discover but learnt the forty seventh theorem of Euclidean geometry from India (already embodied in the *Shulva Sutras* of Baudhayana). His knowledge of the science of numbers and music, of the "holy tetractyls" and the various disciplines he introduced in his school at Krotona also came from India. As Weber writes: "When we compare the doctrines, aims, organisation of this (Pythagorean) brotherhood with Buddhistic monachism, we are almost tempted (with Alexander Polyhistor and Clement of Alexandria) to regard Pythagoras as the pupil of the Brahmans ...Dualism, Pessimism, metempsychosis, celibacy, a common life according to rigorous rules, frequent self-examination, meditation, devotion, prohibitions against bloody sacrifices, kindliness towards all men, truthfulness, fidelity, justice, and all these elements are common to both". Pythagoras prohibited his students from spitting in fire and from eating beans. Both these injunctions came from India (Chhandogya Upanishad and Yajur Veda).

Plato was also much acquainted with Hindu thought and was considerably influenced by it in the writing of his *Republic*. Urwick, the late Ratan Tata Professor of Social Science

in London University, remarks: "I will not attempt—it will need a separate volume—to show how the Indian thought may have filtered through Socrates and Plato; how far it may have reached Plato in his wanderings, how far through Pythagoras, how far even before the death of Socrates, a direct stream of the Eastern doctrine may have flowed through Asia Minor into Greece. But I affirm very confidently that if any one will make himself familiar with the old Indian Wisdom-Religion of the Vedas and the Upanishads, will shake himself free, for the moment, from the academic attitude and the limiting western conception of philosophy, and will then read Plato's dialogues, he will hardly fail to realise that both are occupied with the self-same search, inspired by the same faith, drawn upwards by the same vision".[19]

Urwick maintains that, in order to understand Plato's *Republic*, we should first grasp the fundamentals of Hindu thought. Comparing the social thought of Manu and Plato, he writes: "Again, just as Manu of ancient India instituted the caste system upon the basis of the three principles in the individual soul, so Plato divides his state into three classes, representing the three psychical elements. The lowest caste of producers and traders, corresponding to the vaishya caste,

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[19] Urwick, E. J., *The Message of Plato*, p. 14. Methuen.

reflects the element of ignorant desire, Epithumia. The class next above this, the Auxiliaries, corresponding to the kshatriya caste, reflects the passionate element, Thumos. The highest class, the Guardians, corresponding to the brahman caste, represents the principle of prudent reason, the Logistikon".[20]

There is historical evidence of Aristotle's knowledge of the Indian political systems and of her social life. In his study of various constitutions, we find mention of one constitution that came from India.[21]

We continue our story of India's contact with Greece during the subsequent centuries. "In 329 B.C. Alexander invaded India and his army entered the Panjab ... He had to content himself with the conquest of the old Persian "satrapy of India". He was no mere military adventurer, and from the first his object was to develop the immense commercial resources of the Panjab. Trading depots were founded all along the course of the Indus as the Macedonian army moved towards the mouth of the river...Alexandria-on-Indus soon became an important town. It survived the overthrow of the Macedonian power in the Panjab for many years, and became famous under the rule of the Baktrian Kings as a great Graeco-Buddhist centre.

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[20] Ibid. pp. 28—29.

[21] Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, 14. For further study of this subject, see *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. Chapters 14—23.

"Alasanda of the Yonas" is mentioned in the Mahavamsa.[22]

"By 315 B. C. Macedonian rule in the Panjab was at an end, though doubtless very considerable bodies of "Yavana" colonists continued to remain settled in the Panjab, at "Alasanda of the Yonas" and other settlements. They were united by ties of marriage to the country of their adoption and had no desire to return.[23]

"An amusing correspondence, of which a fragment or two is recorded, was maintained between Bindusara and Seleukus. Bindusara asks for a sample of Greek wine, some raisins and 'Sophist'. Seleukus writes back, saying that he sends the wine with much pleasure, but regrets that 'it isn't good form among the Greeks to trade in philosophers'. When Asoka was converted to Buddhism, his first thought was to despatch missionaries to his friends, the Greek monarchs of Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia, that they might share in the glad tidings of his new creed. Ambassadors from the West frequently visited the Maurya court. Megasthenes came from Seleukus to Chandragupta; Deimachus from the same monarch to Bindusara, Chandragupta's son and successor, and Dionysius from Ptolemy Philadelphus. The most important of these, of

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22 Rawlinson, H. G. *opus cit.* p. 34.

23 Ibid p. 38.

course, was Megasthenes, to whom we owe the only complete account we possess of the court and government of the great Indian monarch. His work, though no longer extant, is known to us from numerous citations by Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Diodorus, Photius and others.[24]

" We have seen that the Maurya Emperors were in close touch with their Greek neighbours and kinsmen. Chandragupta has a Greek wife, Greek ambassadors in his court, and corresponds with the Syrian monarch. Asoka sends missionaries to his Greek neighbours. And yet when we examine the matter closely we find little trace of Greek influence in India at the time of the Mauryas.[25]

" The Greek element in India was now rapidly absorbed. Yavanas appear among the pious donors in the Buddhist caves of Karla and Nasik, but they bear Indian titles, and were doubtless Greek in little more than name. Perhaps the latest reference to them occurs in the inscription of the Andhra queen Balasri, 144 A.D. who boasts that she rooted the 'Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas' out of the Deccan for ever". [26]

India and Egypt. India was also in close relations with Egypt. "The knowledge possessed about India by the Alexandrian Greeks was

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24 Ibid pp. 39-40.

25 Ibid p. 63.

26 Ibid pp. 84-85.

chiefly due to Eratosthenes, the learned President of the Library from 240—196 B.C., though some facts must have been made known before this by Dionysius, who had been sent to India, says Pliny, in the reign of Philadelphus on an embassy, and published details about the forces of the Indian nations on his return.[27]

"Athenaeus tells us that in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus were to be seen Indian women, Indian hunting dogs, and Indian cows, among other strange sights; also Indian spices carried on camels. The same authority tells us that Ptolemy Philopator's yacht had a saloon lined with Indian stone.[28]

"Strabo's statement that in the days of Ptolemies 'very few accomplished the voyage to India and brought home merchandise' seems to imply that some did. One of these, the famous explorer Eudoxus, actually made the voyage twice, and fortunately a brief account of his adventures is preserved in a chapter of Strabo, taken, we are told, from the lost work of the Stoic philosopher Poseidonius.[29]

"Of the intercourse between India and the Egypt of the Ptolemies, traces are few, because the trade between the two countries was mostly indirect. A unique inscription on the ruins of a shrine between

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27 Ibid p. 92.

28 Ibid pp. 93-94.

29 Ibid pp. 96-97.

Edfu and the ancient Berenike, records the visit of an Indian named Sophon. Dr. Hultzsch speaks of finding a solitary silver coin of the days of Ptolemy Soter in the Bangalore bazaar.[30]

" The Manicheans owed many of their curious tenets to the Indian lore acquired in his eastern travels by Terebinthus, and the Gnostic heresy shews similar traces of eastern influence. The debt of Neo-platonism to oriental sources is indisputable, and when we observe the extent of the knowledge about western beliefs exhibited, not only by Origen, but by orthodox writers like Clement and St. Jerome, we cannot help wondering whether Christianity does not owe some of its developments—monasticism and relic-worship for instance,—to Buddhist influence.[31]

"It was in the days of Eudoxus that the first Indian, a shipwrecked sailor, rescued by chance from a watery grave, reached Alexandria. The subsequent expansion in trade is marked by the rules for merchandise, shipping, and post-dues found in the Code of Manu.[32]

"One of the most curious relics of the trade between Egypt and India was unearthed recently at Oxyrhynchus. It is a payrus of a Greek farce of the second century A.D. and contains the story

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[30] Ibid pp. 99-100.

[31] Ibid p. 138.

[32] Ibid p. 138.

of a Greek lady named Charition who has been shipwrecked on the Kanarese coast.

"Of other writers who refer to India, the earliest is Dio Chrysostom, who lived in the reign of Trajan and died after 117 A.D. He mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazaars of Alexandria, and he says that they came "by way of trade".[33]

"Much more accurate is the knowledge possessed by the Christian writer, Clement of Alexandria, who died about 220 A.D. Clement derived much of his information from his tutor Pantaenus, one of the earliest Christian missionaries to visit India. Clement starts by telling us that the Brahmin sect take no wine and abstain from flesh. The latter was a doctrine which found much favour with the Neoplatonists. . . He goes on to add that they worship Pan and Herakles,—probably Brahma, the 'All God' and Siva,—and abstain from women. But the most important of his statements are that the Brahmins despise death and set no value on life, because they believe in transmigration; and that the Sramana or Buddhists worship a kind of Pyramid beneath which they imagine that the bones of a divinity of some kind lie buried. This remarkable allusion to the Buddhist stupa is the earliest reference in western literature to a unique feature of Buddhism, and must

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33 Ibid p. 140.

have been derived from some informant intimately acquainted with the doctrines of Gautama, Clement distinguishes clearly between Buddhist and Brahmin, Sarmanae and Brachmanae. Earlier writers like Megasthenes confuse them. Archelaus of Carrha (278 A.D.) and St. Jerome (340 A.D.) both mention Buddha (Buddas) by name and narrate the tradition of his virgin birth. The Buddha story became gradually known in the West, until, by a coincidence hardly to be paralleled in literature, it was narrated in the eighth century A.D. by John of Damascus as the life of a Christian saint. Under the guise of Saint Josaphat, Gautama the Bodhisattva found his way into the Christian Church, and was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII (1582).

"We must now turn our attention to the very interesting work of Bardesanes the Babylonian on the Indian Gymnosophists. This treatise was extensively used by Porphyry, and there can be little doubt that it was through Bardesanes, that Indian philosophy exercised so great an influence on the development of Neo-platonism. Two important passages from the lost work of Bardesanes have been preserved, each shewing a most remarkably intimate knowledge of India on the part of the writer".[34]

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[34] Ibid pp. 141-143.

India and Rome. From Egypt we turn to Rome, and here again we find close contact between the two countries. "Silk from China, fine muslins from India, and jewels, especially beryl and pearls, were exported from eastern ports for personal adornment. Drugs, spices, and condiments, as well as costus, lycium and other cosmetics, fetched high prices. Even greater was the demand for pepper which sold in the days of Pliny at the price of 15 denarii a pound.[35]

"Pliny says that India, China, and Arabia absorbed between them one hundred million sesterces per annum. This sum is calculated by Mommsen to represent £ 1,100,000, of which nearly half went to India. The effect of this enormous drain on Imperial finance must have been terribly serious.[36]

"One of the fashionable extravagances of the time was the consumption of huge quantities of spices at funerals. Even as early as the days of Sulla, we hear of two hundred and ten talents' weight being used at his obsequies. The climax was, of course, reached by Nero, who at the funeral of Poppoea, in 66 A.D., burnt more aromatics on her pyre than Arabia produced in a year. Extravagance of this kind immensely stimulated the Indian trade, while it brought

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35 Ibid pp. 101-102.

36 Ibid p. 103.

vast wealth to the inhabitants of Arabia, Felix, and the cinnamon country of the adjoining coast.

" One of the results of the increased intercourse with India was the appearance of several works bearing more or less directly upon the subject of Indian geography. Of these writers, the earliest is Strabo, an Asiatic Greek who lived in the reign of Augustus. A great traveller, Strabo had visited Armenia, and had accompanied his friend Aelius Gallus up the Nile. He had been to the port of Myos Hormos, and observed the great increase of trade with India; for he found that about one hundred and twenty merchantmen sailed to India (he does not say in what space of time, but perhaps he means in a single season).[37]

" The news of the accession of Augustus quickly reached India. Many Indian states sent embassies to congratulate him, an honour, as he remarks, never paid before to any western prince. The most striking of these was one sent by an important king, called, according to Strabo, Porus by some and Pandion by others. If his name really was Pandion, he was one of the Pandya kings of Madura, the most southerly of the three Tamil kingdoms. Porus, however (Paurava, a descendant of Puru) became a kind of generic name for an Indian king with the Greeks since the days of Alexander.[38]

37 Ibid pp. 104-105.

38 Ibid p. 107.

"In the reign of Claudius, an epoch-making discovery changed the whole aspect of the sea-borne trade between India and Rome. This was the discovery, about 45 A.D. of the existence of the monsoon-winds, blowing regularly across the Indian Ocean, by a captain of the name Hippalus.

"Ptolemy tells of meeting people who had resided in the Madura district for a long time, and the great numbers of copper coins of little value found there point in the same direction. Roman soldiers, like the Vikings and the Swiss in later days, enlisted in the service of foreign kings, and dumb Mlecchas or 'powerful Yavanas' in complete armour attending native princes are often mentioned in Tamil literature.[39]

"Trajan during his Parthian expedition, travelled to the mouth of the Euphrates and watched the ships spreading their sails for India. He is said to have dreamed of making an expedition to the country himself. He pushed the Roman frontier to within six hundred miles of Indian territory. He entertained an Indian embassy regally, giving its members Senators' seats at the theatre.[40]

"The last Greek writer to deal with the subject of Indian travel is the monk Kosmas Indikopleustes, nearly five centuries later, who wrote when the mists of the Middle Ages were fast

39 Ibid p. 121.

40 Ibid p. 126.

settling down upon the ancient world. The gap is, however, filled in, in a most interesting fashion, by a series of incidental notices appearing in philosophical and religious writers, Christian and pagan, of the time, who often exhibit an unexpectedly intimate knowledge of Indian philosophy, religion, and social observances. It is instructive, moreover, to observe the steady growth of knowledge about India which these writers exhibit, and to contrast them with Strabo, who knows little more than what he has learnt from Megasthenes, over two centuries before him. This intimacy was probably due both to the frequency with which Alexandrian and Syrian traders visited India, and also to the presence of Indians in Alexandria. [41]

" *India and Neo-Platonism.* It certainly appears probable that Neo-Platonism was affected by oriental philosophy, though it is difficult to distinguish its borrowings from Pythagoreanism and Buddhism respectively...Hence we may suppose that the doctrines it inculcates, abstinence from flesh, subjection of the body by asceticism, and so on,—are derived from oriental sources... The Neo-Platonist strives by meditation to free his soul from the body, and to attain union with the Supreme. This is the *Yoga* doctrine of Patanjali. [42]

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41 Ibid p. 173.

42 Ibid p. 175.

"The immense popularity of asceticism, on the other hand, and the extravagant forms it assumed in the Thebaid, may very well be traced to the stories of the Hylobioi and Sramanaioi which are so prominent in patriotic literature. The first of the great hermits was Paul of Alexandria, who fled to the Egyptian desert in 251 A.D. to escape the Decian persecution. His famous follower, St. Anthony, died in 356 A.D. This is just the time when Indian influence in Alexandrian literature is most in evidence.[43]

"Gnosticism, a far more serious and noble creed, together with its later offshoots, shews traces of both Hindu and Zarathustrian influence. Its doctrine of the plurality of heavens is essentially Indian: its 'three qualities' resemble the 'three gunas' of the Sankhya system. Origen's heretical belief in metempsychosis must not be overlooked.[44]

"There is, however, good evidence for the steady migration of folk-tales from East to West, from the time of the Jataka stories. Many eastern legends have found their way into Europe, and may be found in the Gesta Romanorum, the Decameron, and other medieval collections. This was very largely due to the Arabs of Damascus, who translated much Sanskrit literature, and transmitted it in this way to Europe. A typical

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43 Ibid p. 176.

44 Ibid p. 177.

instance are the famous fables of Bidpai of Pilpay. They were translated from the Sanskrit 'Pancha Tantra' into Persian by Barzuyeh, in the time of Nushirvan, King of Persia. From Persian they were turned into Arabic by Abdalla ibn Mokaffa, at the court of Ibn Jafar Almansur at Bagdad. About the same time, at the neighbouring court of Damascas, St. John of Damascus also wrote Barlaam and Josaphat, which, as we have seen, contain numerous Buddhist stories and apologues. Thus the well-known story of the Three Caskets found its way into the Merchant of Venice. Thus, too, Chaucer was enabled to embody in his Pardoner's Tale, a Buddhist parable taken from the Vedabbha Jataka".[45]

We shall close this with two more excerpts, one from Sir William Jones and another from Monsieur Jacolliot's writings. Both of these authors refer to Manu and his place in the nations of antiquity. In the light of facts herein stated Sir William Jones's over-cautious statement assumes a new significance.

" There is certainly a strong resemblance, though obscured and faded by time, between our Menu with his divine Bull, whom he names as our Dharmȧ himself, or the genius of abstract justice, and the Mneues of Egypt with his companion or symbol, Apis; and, though we should be constantly on our guard against the delusion of

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45 Ibid pp. 179-80.

etymological conjecture, yet we cannot but admit that Minos and Mneues, or Mneuis, have only Greek terminations, but that the crude noun is composed of the same radical letters both in Greek and in Sanskrit. That Apis and Mneues, says the Analyst of ancient Mythology, were both representations of some personage, appears from the testimony of Mycophron and his scholiast; and that personage was the same, who in Crete was styled Minos, and who was also represented under the emblem of Minotaur; Diodorus, who confines him to Egypt, speaks of him by the title of bull Mneuis, as the first lawgiver, and says, 'That he lived after the age of the gods and heroes, when a change was made in the manner of life among men; that he was a man of most exalted soul, and a great promoter of civil society, which he benefitted by his laws; that those laws were unwritten, and received by him from the chief Egyptian deity, Hermes, who conferred them on the world as a gift of the highest importance'. He was the same, adds my learned friend, with Menes, whom the Egyptians represented as their first king and principal benefactor, who first sacrificed to the gods, and brought about a change in diet. If Minos, the son of Jupiter, whom the Cretans from national vanity, might have made a native of their own island, was really the same person with Manu, the son of Brahma, we have the good fortune to restore, by means of Indian

literature, the most celebrated system of heathen jurisprudence, and this work might have been entitled the Laws of Minos; but the paradox is too singular to be confidently asserted, and the geographical part of the book, with most allusions to natural history, must indubitably have been written after the Hindu race had settled to the south of the Himalayas".[46]

Mons. Louis Jacolliot, who lived in India for a long time, wrote many volumes on Hindu philosophy and sacred lore, and whose researches have not received sufficient attention, also refers to this matter. His conclusions are based on research accomplished during the century that separated him from Sir William Jones. He remarks: "A philosopher gives political and religious institutions to India, and is named Manu. The Egyptian legislator receives the name of Manes. A Cretan visits Egypt to study the institutions with which he desired to endow his country, and history preserves his memory under the name of Minos. Lastly, the liberator of the servile caste of the Hebrews found a new society and is named Moses. Manu, Manes, Mines, Moses—these four names overshadow the entire ancient world, they appear at the cradles of four different peoples to play the same role, surrounded by the same

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[46] Jones, Sir William. Works of Sir William Jones, edited by Lord Teignmouth, Vol. VII, pp. 81—82.

mysterious halo, all four legislators and high priests, all four founding theocratic and sacerdotal societies. That they stood in the relation to each other of predecessor and successor, however distant, seems proven by similitude of name and identity of the institutions they created. In Sanskrit, Manu signifies the man, *par excellence*, the legislator. Manes, Mines, Moses, do they not betray an incontestible unity of derivation from the Sanskrit, with all the slight variations of different-periods, and the different languages in which they are written—Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew?"[47] May it not be that as the word Manu travelled to the West, so did his Code of Laws? Words are like coins of currency, they carry their cumulated connotations from place to place, from generation to generation. With the voyage of the word 'Manu', perhaps, also went his Code. If history should confirm what is taken as a mere assumption, Manu may be said to be the father of all social thinkers of the East and the West, the first to have conceived a perfect and well-planned society and to have pointed out the processes of its attainments.

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[47] Jacolliot, A. L., *The Bible in India* translated from the French, p. 67. Panini Office, Allahabad.

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